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On September 27, 1940, occurs the four hundredth anniversary of the official founding, or, to use the term current in Jesuit circles, "confirmation" of the Society of Jesus by the Holy See. In view of the significant rôle it has repeatedly played in the religious and cultural past of both hemispheres, interest on the part of readers in the story of this well-known religious order may readily be presumed. In recent years the topic of Jesuit origins in all its bearings has been investigated with thoroughness through the medium of a great mass of previously unpublished archival material with the result that an accurate and solidly documented presentation of the topic is now possible, and, in fact, has been realized to a considerable extent in published works. It is the purpose of this article to review recent activities in this field of research as also the historiography they have given rise to, and then proceed to discuss briefly some capital momenta in the genesis of the Society of Jesus.

The new approach to Jesuit history had its beginnings under the Spaniard, Luis Martín, twenty-second general (1892-1906) of the Society of Jesus.[1] The movement as initiated by him took

[1] Peter J. Chandlery, S.J., *The Very Reverend Father Louis García Martin, XXIVth General of the Society of Jesus: A Biographical Sketch* (Roehampton, England, 1911).

No adequate bibliography of Jesuit history is available, but one is in preparation (Edouard Lamelle, S.J., *Guide bibliographique de l'histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus* [*Bibliothèque de l'Institut historique S. I.*, série A, n. 1]. This guide is planned as a single-volume compendious edition of a larger work also in preparation by the same author (*Bibliographia systematica historiae Socie-*

shape in two major projects, the publication in series from the archives of the order, of the primary and for the most part previously unprinted sources bearing on Jesuit origins, and the exploitation of such sources and other available material for the rewriting of Jesuit history. To the Spanish Jesuits, keenly interested in the beginnings of their order, was assigned the task of editing the documentary series, which is still being issued under the general rubric, *Monumenta historica Societatis Jesu*.[2] The first volume appeared at Madrid in 1894, the latest, the sixty-fifth, at Rome, in 1938, the editorial headquarters having been shifted from Madrid to the Italian capital in 1929. Work on the elaborate project continues, a considerable body of manuscript material within the purview of the series still awaiting publication.

The bulk of the documents set out in the *Monumenta* represents the correspondence and other writings of Loyola and the Jesuits associated with him in the founding of the order. Of outstanding importance are the Ignatian papers (*Monumenta Ignatiana ex*

tatis Iesu, 1540-1940). A minor but useful compilation by Lamalle (*L'histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus: notes bibliographiques* [Brussels, 1931]) is already in print. Detailed, commented lists of the primary sources for Jesuit origins are included in the bibliographies which accompany the first volume of Astrain and Fouqueray and the second of Tacchi Venturi (*infra*, p. 299). *Cf.* also Bernard Duhr, S.J., "Zur neuesten Bibliographie der Geschichte des Jesuitenordens," *Festschrift für Georg Leidinger* (Munich, 1930), 51-62. The *Moniteur bibliographique de la Compagnie de Jésus*, issued at Paris in forty-four fascicles, 1888-1915, listed all current publications in whatever field by Jesuit authors. It has been superseded by the annual *Index bibliographicus Societatis Jesu*, now being published by the Historical Institute of the Society of Jesus, Rome. The first volume (for 1937), edited by Juan Juambelz, S.J., is in print (1938). This index, which is not specifically for history but extends to all topics, includes only Jesuit authors. The *Archivum historicum S. I.* (Rome) from its first issue, 1933, has indexed all current publications (books, monographs, articles) in the field of Jesuit history, whether by writers of the Society or not. The same review plans also to fill in eventually the gap in the indexing of historical Jesuitica between the suspension of the *Moniteur bibliographique* (1915) and the appearance of its own initial issue (1933). The standard bibliography of Jesuit writings in all fields up to the period of its publication is Carlos Sommervogel, S.J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (11 vols., Brussels-Paris, 1890-1932).

[2] Anton Huonder, S.J., "Die *Monumenta Historica* S.J. oder die ältesten Geschichtsquellen des Jesuitenordens," *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach* (Freiburg im Breisgau), LXXXVI (1914), 470-92.

autographis vel ex antiquioribus exemplis collecta), which are assembled in four series. Of these the first comprises the saint's letters and instructions, some seven thousand pieces (*Epistolae et instructiones*, 12 vols., 1903-09); the second, his *Spiritual Exercises* (*Exercitia spiritualia*, 1919); the third, his *Constitutions* (3 vols., 1934-38); the fourth, contemporary writings and testimonies about Loyola (*Scripta de S. Ignatio de Loyola*, 2 v., 1904-18).[3] Obviously the biographers have capitalized on the literary remains of the founder of the Jesuits; but to get really close to him one has to go to the remains themselves, which include such revealing documents as his *Autobiography* or *Confessions* (*Acta P. Ignatii ut primum scripsit P. Ludovicus Gonzales*), which he dictated three years before his death to his Portuguese confidant, Luis González de Cámara, and which Fueter pronounced the best among Renaissance memoirs;[4] the diary (*Ephemerides*) he kept when compiling

[3] A notable edition of Loyola's correspondence (of earlier date than the one in the *Monumenta*) is De La Torre's, 6 vols., Madrid, 1874-1889. Alban Goodier, S.J., *Letters and Instructions of St. Ignatius* (London, 1914), is a small volume of selections. The editions of the *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Constitutions* in the *Monumenta* series, both from the hands of Arthur Codina, S.J., are definitive in thoroughness and accuracy of editorial care. The *Spiritual Exercises*, a classic in Christian ascetical literature, was the literary outcome of the intense religious experience undergone by Loyola in the period of his conversion. It was first published in 1548 in a Latin translation from the original Spanish text. Since that date editions and translations have been legion. A phototyped edition of the so-called Spanish autograph (only some marginal comments and corrections are in Loyola's hand) was printed in Rome in 1908. The literature of the *Exercises* is enormous. A collection of textual editions, commentaries, etc., (*Bibliothèque des Exercices*) housed in the Jesuit seminary at Enghien, Belgium, runs into thousands of volumes. The genesis of the Exercises is treated with detail in Arthur Codina, S.J., *Los orígenes de los Ejercicios espirituales de San Ignacio de Loyola* (Barcelona, 1926). *Cf.* also Henri Watrigant, S.J., "La genèse des Exercices de Saint Ignace de Loyola", *Études* (Paris), LXXI (1897), 506-29, LXXII (1897), 195-216, LXXIII (1897), 199-215.

[4] Edward Fueter, *Geschichte der neureren Historiographie* (3d ed., Munich, 1936), 282. Loyola's autobiography was dictated by him in Rome to Father González de Cámara, who, however, did not take down the dictation immediately in writing, but, after the least possible delay, he himself, with the aid of notes, dictated the saint's words to a secretary. This explains the fact that the autobiography is partly in Spanish, partly in Italian, as in Genoa, where González de Cámara completed his task, only an Italian secretary was available. A preface to the autobiography by the compiler explains the method

the *Constitutions*;[5] and the *Memorial* of the above-mentioned González de Cámara, a compilation in which the author set down certain queries he put to the saint in Boswellian fashion and the answers returned by the latter.[6]

In addition to the Ignatian papers the *Monumenta historica* include critically edited collections of the correspondence, memoirs, etc. of Xavier, Laynez, Nadal, Salmeron, Borgia and other pioneer Jesuits, this material being a rich mine of first-hand data illustrating the beginnings of the order. In the category of formal historical narratives the *Monumenta's* major item is the *Vita Ignatii Loiolae et rerum Societatis Jesu historia* (6 vols., 1894-98), or, as it is generally and briefly referred to, the *Chronicon* of Juan Polanco, Loyola's compatriot and indefatigable secretary. Polanco, a skillful narrator, had a flair for working up history from original sources; moreover as official secretary of the Jesuit organization, he had the primary manuscript material (especially the outgoing

followed in its redaction. The original manuscript of the document is in the Vatican Library. (Bibliographical appendix by Herbert Thurston to E. M. Rix's English translation of the autobiography under the title, *The Testament of St. Ignatius* [London, 1900], 216 ff.). A French translation by Eugène Thibaut, S.J., *Le récit du pélerin* (2d ed., Bruges, 1924), derives its title from the circumstance that in the autobiography Loyola is referred to in the third person as "the pilgrim."

[5] Loyola's Spanish diary, kept for about a year during the period he was at work on the *Constitutions*, was first published, though not *in integro*, in Juan de La Torre, S.J., *Constitutiones Societatis Jesu latinae et hispanicae cum earum Declarationibus* (Madrid, 1892). (Loyola, a Basque, was not at ease in Spanish; he wrote it laboriously and not always according to the rules of grammar). The complete text of the diary is in *Monum. Ignat.*, ser. 3a, I, 86-158. Alfred Feder, S.J., has determined from internal evidence the period covered by the document, *viz.*, Feb. 2, 1544-Feb. 27, 1545. *Aus dem geistlichen Tagebuch des hl. Ignatius von Loyola nach dem Spanischen Urtext übertragen, eingeleitet und mit Anmerkungen verseht* (Regensburg, 1922). Date, scope, contents of the diary and its relation to the *Constitutions* are discussed in *Monum. Ignat.*, ser. 3ª, xcv-cxx.

[6] The *Memorial* of Luis González de Cámara, written partly in Spanish, partly in Portuguese, discloses Loyola's own avowed reasons for introducing into his rule certain departures (*e.g.*, suppression of choir and distinctive religious garb) from the practice of the older religious orders. It bears the caption: *Memorial de lo que nuestro Padre me responde acerca de las cosas de la casa, commençado a 20 de Henero del año de 1555* (*Monum. Ignat.*, ser. 4ª, I, 153-336). This is a highly important source for understanding the character of Loyola.

and incoming correspondence of Loyola) for the annals of his order directly at hand. His six-volume Latin work, prefaced by a biography of Loyola, which no one was better qualified to write than himself, covers the entire course of Jesuit affairs from the first days of the Society to the death of the founder, 1556. Curious to say, this initial and singularly authoritative contribution to Jesuit historiography, though drawn upon by earlier historians of the order, as Orlandini, remained unpublished until its appearance in the *Monumenta* in the nineties past.[7]

The editing in the *Monuments* of the source materials bearing on the origins of the Society of Jesus was a landmark in the historiography of the order; a further landmark was Father Luis Martín's project, now implemented to a considerable extent, of the rewriting of Jesuit history. His expert adviser in setting the project on foot was the German Jesuit scholar, Franz Ehrle, distinguished Vatican librarian and recipient in 1923 of a cardinal's hat. Martín had originally conceived of the projected histories mainly as aids to Jesuit domestic instruction and edification, not as products of exacting scholarship; but Ehrle, having urged with his superior the necessity of making the new histories conform to the most rigorous canons of modern scientific historiography, was commissioned by him to formulate from this point of view the specific lines along which the project was to be carried out. He thereupon drew up for the guidance of the writers of the volumes an *Instructio* or body of directions, which not only outlined their scope, method of treatment and choice of topics, but also covered such problems in practical history-writing as the use of primary and secondary sources, bibliography, footnotes, etc. Moreover, the General having made choice of the writers, these were summoned by him to Rome where for a period they received personal instructions from Father Ehrle as to the manner of discharging their respective tasks.[8]

[7] Astrain (xxxii) is of the opinion that in Polanco's history "se exponen los sucesos con más exactitud y fidelidad que in ninguna otra historia de la Compañía."

[8] Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., "Franz, Cardinal Ehrle," *American Ecclesiastical Review*, XCIV (1936), 139. The text of Ehrle's *Instructio*, issued over the signature of the General, Francis X. Wernz, is in *Acta Romana* (Rome), III (1911), 81-95.

In accordance with the general plan devised for the histories, which was adjusted to the feature in the Jesuit administrative system known as assistancies or groups of the Society's provinces arranged more or less on a language basis, Pietro Tacchi Venturi was named historian for the Italian Assistancy, Antonio Astrain for the Spanish, Henri Fouqueray for the French, Bernard Duhr for the German, John H. Pollen and Thomas A. Hughes for the English. The histories, it may be noted, were to be written, not in Latin, the language of the older official Jesuit histories, but in the vernacular of the respective assistancies. All the historians named except Pollen fulfilled their assignments, at least in part. Astrain's *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España* (7 vols., Madrid, 1902-1925) terminates at 1758; Duhr's *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge* (6 vols., Freiburg, Munich, 1907-1928), at 1773; Hughes's *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal* (2 vols. *Text*, 2 vols. *Documents*, London, New York, 1907-1917), at about the same date; Fouqueray's *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France* (6 vols., Paris, 1910-25), at the close of the reign of Louis XIII; Tacchi Venturi's *Storia della Compagnia di Gesú in Italia* (2 vols., Rome, 1910-1924) at the official founding of the order in 1540.

While it would be gratuitous to contend that all these works measure up individually in every respect to the high standards of scientific, objective treatment postulated by the projectors of the series, they are beyond question rich reservoirs of authentic factual content not elsewhere accessible, and remain the most authoritative accounts in print of the matters they deal with. Scholarly frankness and impartiality in discussing Jesuit beginnings, especially as centered around the figure of Ignatius, are especially in evidence.[9]

[9] Other large-scale Jesuit histories of the critical type published in recent decades include those of Rodriguez (Portugal), Zalenski (Poland), Kroess (Bohemia), Poncelet (Low Countries). Henry Dwight Sedgwick appraises Astrain's work as "scholarly, moderate, and, in all respects that I can judge, excellent," and Tacchi Venturi's as "scholarly, accurate and just." *Ignatius Loyola: An Attempt at an Impartial Biography* (New York, 1926), 372-73. Hughes's narrative volumes have met with criticism as not being duly objective, but in their factual content they remain indispensable to all students

The modern Jesuits might have been content to carry on the series of official Latin histories of the Society inaugurated by Orlandini and continued by Sacchini, Poussine, Jouvancy and Cordara, which covered the period 1540-1632, or the first ninety-two years of the Society's history; but the limitations, in view of present-day standards in historiography, of these older works made such an enterprise inadvisable.[10] Orlandini, for instance, "soft-pedalled" the youthful moral aberrations of Loyola, as did in general the latter's seventeenth-century biographers, a procedure which evoked the censure of Astrain.[11] But it would be a mistake to assume that suppression of unpleasant realities was a uniform practice with the seventeenth and eighteenth-century Jesuit historians. Orlandini himself, for instance, did not hesitate to reveal the unpleasantnesses that developed between Simon Rodriguez and Loyola, a thing which elicited protest from the Portuguese members of the order. The protest was answered by Sacchini, Orlandini's editor and continuator, in a vigorous letter, the contents of which suggest that the Rankean formula of recording history, *wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*, is not an entirely nineteenth-century invention.

> If things are true no historian can, without violating the laws of history and his own conscience, keep silent about them. . . . The reason is that since the essence of history is to narrate outstanding things either good or evil . . . . (which in the case of a biography help to form a true judgment of the man) he who publishes a history relating only good things writes himself down as willing to deceive. . . . Truth is rightly called the soul of history. If she is absent

of Maryland origins. His two volumes of documents are examples of scholarly technique in the critical editing of historical sources. Pollen's history of the English Assistancy never got beyond an unfinished manuscript draft; but the published by-products of his researches in English Catholicism of the Tudor period are distinct contributions to scholarship. Conyers Read, *Bibliography of English History, Tudor Period, 1485-1603* (Oxford, 1933); Joseph B. Code, *Queen Elizabeth and the English Catholic Historians* (Louvain, 1935), 158-72.

[10] The sixth volume (by Jouvancy, 1643-1719) of the official Latin history, which continues the narrative to the end of Vitelleschi's generalate (1646), is in manuscript in the Jesuit Roman Archives. The advisability of publishing it, "*servata tamen methodo in hujusmodi publicationibus recepta*," was under consideration as late as 1910. *Acta Romana* (Rome), II (1910), 61.

[11] "La historia seria de nuestros días no admite esta imagen." *Historia*, I, 12.

> because writers keep silent about what should be told, history dies. For it is against the truth not to say those things which ought to be said. . . . To wish to persuade men that there have been no scandals in the Society would be, as Father Nadal says, the most arrant pride, since there were such among the apostles, the deacons, etc.; nor should we ever succeed in persuading to this effect, but should render ourselves ridiculous. And if any such thing occurring at any time in our history must be told, no doubt one must begin from the very beginning. When occasion offers, we do not spare cities, the depraved morals of which we picture, nor nations with their barbarities, nor princes, when their attacks are directed against us. Why then spare our own? Why draw a veil over our own affairs, using measure and measure, weight and weight, which is an abomination before God? [12]

Sacchini's plea for objectivity in history was the same made by Leo XIII in a striking encyclical letter issued by him in 1882 on occasion of the opening of the Vatican archives; the same made also by the Jesuit generals in sponsoring the new histories of the Society. Martin's successor in the generalate, Francis Xavier Wernz, addressing a group of Jesuits in Rome in 1910, outlined the Jesuit ideal of genuine history: "Solidity of historical research, which refers all things back to their sources; scientific method; critical acumen joined with piety, not piety without critical skill; sobriety and equity of judgment, which leads one never to utter falsehood, never to keep back the truth;—these things make for the writing of true history, not of a panegyric, for only the truth is the solid foundation of edification among Ours, it alone can win the esteem of outsiders." [13]

Such present-day Jesuit historical activities as can be termed with more or less of propriety official are centered in the international *Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, which is housed at the general headquarters of the Society of Jesus in Rome, Borgo Santo Spirito, 5. The functions of the Institute as at present organized are mainly threefold: to edit the Jesuit historical review,

[12] *Monum. Ignat.*, ser 4ª, I, 704-05. "Atque haec rogo R^am^ V^am^ ut satis habeat pro primo capite; ne cogar aliqua praeterea eruere ex sepulchris, quae bene est non movere. Raro enim cadavera bene olent" (*ibid.*, 702). Translation of the first half of the passage cited in the text is from Paul Van Dyke, *Ignatius Loyola* (New York, 1926), 237.

[13] *Acta Romana*, II (1910), 61.

Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu (1932-), contributions to which are accepted in any of six languages, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, German, and English; to edit also additional volumes of the *Monumenta historica*; to publish original studies in the field of Jesuit history which, owing to their scale or for other reasons, cannot conveniently find place in the *Archivum Historicum* or the *Monumenta*.

The opening up of the Jesuit archives through the *Monumenta* was a turning-point in biographical studies of Loyola. While the earlier biographers, as Polanco, Ribadeneira, Maffei, Bartoli and others had by no means neglected primary sources, the documentary basis and general historical background of their work had many limitations. In the cases, however, of Polanco and Ribadeneira, their close and long continued personal associations with Loyola lend their productions a particular value. The re-editing in the early eighteen-nineties of Ribadeneira's work by Clair and Bartoli's by Michel indicated that the materials for a thoroughly new treatment of the subject were not yet at hand.[14]

The new biographical approach to Loyola, based on the *Monumenta* began with the publication in 1902 of Astrain's first volume, which covered with adequacy the Spanish period of the saint's life as Fouqueray's first and Tacchi Venturi's second volume did the French and Italian periods respectively.[15] Paul Dudon's *Saint Ignace de Loyola* (1934) probably represents the high-water mark in scholarly biographical treatment of the founder of the Jesuits. It is excellently documented, utilizes all source-material available to date, and is charmingly written. For the earlier chapters of the story it capitalizes on an accumulation of documents and notes, genealogical, topographical, and historical, made in years of research in the Basque provinces by the French Jesuit, Léonard Cros. The studies of the Spanish Jesuit, Pedro Leturia, in the early chapters of Loyola's career are noteworthy. His *El Gentilhombre*

[14] Charles Clair, S.J., *La vie de saint Ignace d'après Pierre Ribadeneyra, son premier historien* (Paris, 1891); L. Michel, S.J., *Histoire de saint Ignace de Loyola d'après les documents originaux par le P. Daniel Bartoli* (2 vols., Bruges, 1893).

[15] "Sur la période italienne de la vie d' Ignace nul ne l' approche [Tacchi Venturi]". Dudon, *Saint Ignace de Loyola*, vii.

Iñigo Lopez de Loyola en su Patria y en su Siglo (Montevideo, 1938) works with new data, and, with its careful setting of the saint in his Spanish Renaissance environment, is especially interesting as an example of the psychological approach in biography.[16] Leturia feels that the military explanation conventionally given to Loyola's personality and to the order he founded has been overstressed, taking issue with his confrère, the German, Anton Huonder, for placing their common revered founder in too "*soldatisch*" a light, for making the military idea basic in the interpretation of him and his work.[17] According to Leturia Loyola showed a combination of knightly valor and nobility of medieval tint with a power of psychological penetration entirely modern. "In the fusion of this interior 'potential' with the traits of knighthood and not in the mere military silhouette lies hidden, in our judgment, the typical side of his character."[18]

As to the light thrown upon Jesuit origins by the *Monumenta*, it is impossible in this summary treatment to enter into detail; but a few of the more specific aspects of the topic, *e. g.*, the actual founding of the order, its name, constitutions, aims and main fields of occupation will bear discussion, however brief.

Jesuit origins pivot around the figure of the Basque gentleman-adventurer, Iñigo Lopez de Loyola, who at the siege of Pamplona in Spanish Navarre, 1521, an incident in the wars between Charles V and Francis I, was severely wounded by a cannonball after displaying remarkable courage in defence of

[16] Other Ignatian studies by Leturia are: *Nuevos datos sobre San Ignacio: la labor de Polanco y Nadal en los orígenes de la biografía ignaciana á la luz de documentos inéditos* (Bilbao, 1925); *Apuntos ignacianos* (Madrid, 1930); "La conversión de S. Ignacio: nuevos datos y ensayo de síntesis," *Archivum historicum S. I.* (Rome), V (1936), 1-35.

[17] Anton Huonder, S.J., *Ignatius von Loyola: Beiträge zu seinem Charakterbilde*, herausgegeben von Balthasar Wilhelm, S.J. (Cologne, 1932); Pedro Leturia, "A proposito del 'Ignatius von Loyola' del P. Huonder," *Arch. hist. S.I.*, II (1933), 313-14.

[18] "La conversión de S. Ignacio," *Arch. hist. S.I.*, V (1936), 35. The Jesuit founder has been a favorite subject in recent years with English and American biographers. Thus, Francis Thompson (1910), John Hungerford Pollen (1922), Henry Dwight Sedgwick (1923), Paul Van Dyke (1926), Christopher Hollis (1931), Robert Harvey (1936).

the town against the French attack.[19] A long and painful convalescence brought with it complete transformation of soul. He foreswore the secular and especially military ambitions which had previously engaged him and resolved to attach himself to Christ as his spiritual leader in a career of penance and good works. Seven years later, 1528, he was settled in Paris, the intellectual center of Europe, where he matriculated at the university, and eventually won over to his way of life six of its students, Pierre Le Fèvre, Francisco Xavier, Diégo Laynez, Alonso, Salmeron, Simon Rodriguez and Nicholas Bobadilla. On August 15, 1534, in the chapel of St. Denis on the southern slope of Montmartre, all seven bound themselves by vow to poverty, chastity, and a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, there to labor for the conversion of the Moslems.[20] If circumstances prevented the pilgrimage they were to proceed to Rome and there offer their services to the pope for whatever ministerial tasks he might assign them. War between Venice and the Turks making the pilgrimage impossible, they went to Rome, all of them being then in priestly orders. They received various commissions from Paul III, the reigning pontiff, and were soon in the public eye as unusually zealous and efficient workers in the ministry.

For nearly three months, from about the middle of March, 1539, to St. John Baptist's day, June 24, of the same year, the "pilgrim

[19] The derivation of Loyola from "*lobo y olla*," legend of the Loyola family escutcheon, is fanciful. According to Leturia, the name, which is of Basque origin, was originally of topographical, not genealogical, import, being found attached to various localities of the Basque country. It appears to be compounded of two elements, *loi*, "mud," and *ola*, which is either a locative suffix or a combination of *ol*, a suffix expressing "abundance," and the article *a*. Hence, so Leturia concludes, Loyola signifies "a muddy place," or "an abundance of mud (or mire)." *El gentilhombre Iñigo Lopez de Loyola*, p. 2; *Arch. hist. S.I.*, II (1933), 314.

Letters written by Loyola in Castilian are signed Inigo or Iñigo up to 1543 and Ignacio after that date. His Latin letters are signed Ignatius. Perhaps he thought this was the Latin for Inigo, which it is not. At any rate, he had a marked devotion to St. Ignatius of Antioch, whose day in the ecclesiastical calendar was also that on which the first Jesuits observed the name-day (*festum onomasticum*) of their founder. Dudon, 360, n. 1. As to Pamplona, new data on the military incident of 1521 have been brought to light by Leturia; *Supra*, n. 16. Loyola's Basque background is discussed in Heinrich Böhmer, *Studien zur der Gesellschaft Jesu* (Bonn, 1914), I.

[20] Fouqueray, I, 47-49.

priests'', as they came to be called, were in frequent session, deliberating on their future status. They prayed, reflected, worked during the day; at night they discussed the business in hand, apparently settling all matters by a majority vote. The minutes of their deliberations (*Deliberatio primorum patrum*) are extant; from them emerges the striking fact that the Society of Jesus took its rise, not so much in any independent initiative, in any masterful decision on the part of Loyola, as in the united counsels, the collective wisdom and experience of its ten charter members, whose roll-call included, besides the seven who took the historic vows at Montmartre in 1534, three additional recruits, Paschase Broet, Claude Le Jay and Jean Codure.[21] The very first night they met in session they debated the crucial point whether they should perpetuate themselves as a corporate body, a religious order, or pass entirely from the scene as the last of their number to survive went to his reward. The decision was for perpetuation as an organized body. Next was discussed the question whether the organization to be set up should have a vow of obedience. Here again the decision was in the affirmative. Eventually there was drawn up, probably by Loyola himself, a statement (*summa* or *formula*) presenting in outline under five heads (*capitoli*) the main features of the kind of organization they wished to have. This document (*Prima Instituti summa*), having been submitted to Paul III by Loyola's devoted friend, Cardinal Contarini, was delivered by the pontiff for examination to the Dominican, Thomas Badia, Master of the Sacred Palace. Badia reported that the plan of the proposed order seemed to him ''pious and holy.'' Accordingly, on September 3, 1539, Contarini read the *formula* together with Badia's approving opinion to the Pope, who gave its contents *viva voce* or verbal approval, at the same time commissioning Cardinal Ghinucci to draw up a brief or bull confirmatory of the new order. But Ghinucci objected to certain points in the plan submitted by Loyola, among them the omission of any regularly prescribed cor-

[21] The text of the *Deliberatio* of 1539 is in *Monum. Ignat.*, ser. 3ª, I, 1-7. The cooperative character of the efforts that resulted in the founding of the Society appears also in the account of its origins written by one of the ten charter members, Simon Rodriguez (*Commentarium de origine et progressu Societatis Jesu*, Lisbon, 1577, in *Monum. hist., Monum. Broet.*, etc., 451-517).

poral penances and the substitution of private recitation of the divine office for the communal recitation in choir customary in all religious orders. These points, so the cardinal felt, smacked of Lutheran tendencies or might be interpreted in such sense. Later, as the affair dragged on, the pope appointed a commission charged to bring discussion of it to an end. The head of the commission, Cardinal Guidiccioni, so it turned out, was opposed to the introduction of any new orders in the Church, proposing even that all existing ones be reduced to four, Benedictine, Cistercian, Franciscan, Dominican. But in the end he gave his vote for the proposed order, although, to put it as it were on trial, he would have membership in it restricted to sixty.

With this restriction, accordingly, the bull, *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*, which incorporated the *formula* or summary statement of the Jesuit rule (*Prima Instituti formula*) was signed by Paul III on September 27, 1540. The signing of the document, which is the Magna Carta of the Society of Jesus, took place in the pope's place of residence at the moment, the Palace of St. Mark, the grim, fortress-like fifteenth-century structure facing the Piazza Venezia in Rome and now the official headquarters of Signor Mussolini and the Fascist régime. Every visitor to Rome has the historic pile pointed out to him. By a subsequent bull, *Injunctum nobis*, March 14, 1544, Paul III lifted the restriction on membership, throwing the Society open to all whom its superiors might choose to admit. Later, by the brief, *Exponi nobis*, June 5, 1546, he authorized the introduction into the order of the class of members known as co-adjutors, spiritual and temporal, who were to aid it in its activities whether as priests in the ministry or as lay-brothers performing domestic duties in its houses. The relatively small number of the solemnly professed members made such a device necessary. Finally, Paul III's successor, Julius III, confirmed the Society anew in his bull, *Exposcit debitum*, July 21, 1550, which incorporated "the second formula of the Institute" (*Formula Instituti secunda*), a "clearer and more distinct" (*clarius et distinctius*) outline of the Jesuit rule than the one approved in 1540. Since that date numerous fresh confirmations of the Jesuit Institute have issued from the Holy See, the present-day attitude of which

towards the order was voiced by Pius XI in warmly sympathetic terms in his Castelgandolfo address of August 15, 1934 (*infra*),[22] and, later, by Pius XII in a letter addressed to the Jesuit General, July 22, 1940.

When question is raised as to when precisely the Society of Jesus began, two dates are to be distinguished, one marking the informal, the other, the formal or canonical origin of the order. The informal, unpremeditated origin may be dated August 15, 1534, on which day occurred the historic taking by Ignatius and his six associates of the vows at Montmartre. At this juncture, however, it had not entered into the minds of the seven to found a religious order; the decision to do so came five years later. But the vows at Montmartre were the fruit of the common spirit which Loyola had infused into his followers through the medium of the *Spiritual Exercises*; moreover, they proved in the event to be the effective bond holding the young men together until circumstances brought them to the determination to perpetuate their work by organizing with papal approval into a regularly constituted religious order. Hence the vow-day of 1534 has always been cherished in Jesuit tradition as the occasion to which the Society may in a legitimate sense trace back its origin. "It rightly regards," so the present Jesuit General, Wlodimir Ledóchowski, has declared, "the Assumption Day of 1534 as the memorable day of its birth." And in the course of the same quadricentennial ceremony at Castelgandolfo

[22] The texts of all papal bulls and briefs bearing on the Society of Jesus up to the *Sacrae religionis*, October 22, 1552, of Julius III included, are in the first volume (*Documenta praevia*) of the critical edition of the *Constitutions*. An English rendering of the *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* may be found in Robert Harvey, *Ignatius Loyola: A General in the Church Militant* (Milwaukee, 1936), 259-65. In the language of canon low a "professed" religious is one who has taken public vows (*i.e.*, such as are received by a competent authority in the name of the Church) of poverty, chastity and obedience in a religious order or congregation. In Jesuit parlance the term "professed" generally has a more restricted meaning, designating only those members of the order who have taken what are called solemn vows. The vows of the co-adjutors, spiritual or temporal, are simple. Solemn vows have greater binding force, release from them being within the competence only of the Holy See. The solemn vows taken by the Jesuit "professed" are those of poverty, chastity, obedience, and a special vow of obedience to the pope in regard to the missions.

at which the General spoke these words, Pius XI, while qualifying September 27, 1540, as the day marking the "canonical birth" of the Society of Jesus, pointed to August 15, 1534, as its "birthday," the day of its "first baptism." [23]

That prior to 1539 Loyola had no idea of starting a religious order is amply borne out by documentary evidence. An opposite view, according to which he had as early as Manresa days (1522) foreknowledge through divine inspiration of the rôle he was to play as founder of a religious order and even, in a measure, of the constitutional shape it was to take, does not find favor with most present-day Jesuit students of the Society's origins.[24] It does not seem possible to reconcile such a view with the hesitating, tentative, uncertain course pursued by Loyola up to 1539 and especially with numerous explicit statements pertinent to the matter made by him and his associates. Paul Dudon, Loyola's latest Jesuit biographer (1934), is especially insistent in combatting the view in question, declaring that "the exhumation of the Society's primitive archives gave it a fatal blow." [25] Already in 1908 the Bollandist, van Ortroy, in a searching criticism in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, had taken the same position.[26] Numerous statements by Loyola to be found in his autobiography seem decisive against the "foreknowledge" theory; so also do statements of similar tenor made by Laynez, Polanco, and other Jesuits contemporary with him. Said Laynez: "Our intention from the time we were in Paris until then [1537] was not to form a congregation [religious body] but to live in poverty, dedicate ourselves to the service of our Lord and the good of our neighbor by preaching and serving in hospitals." [27] Polanco wrote in reference to the deliberations of 1539: "They

[23] *Osservatore Romano* (Vatican City), August 19, 1934. The evolution of circumstances which accompanied the founding of the Society of Jesus is best followed in Tacchi Venturi, II, 187 ff.

[24] Astrain defends the "foreknowledge" theory (I, 102-16); Tacchi Venturi rejects it (II, 199 ff.).

[25] Dudon (622-25) summarizes the evidence from contemporary texts against the saint's alleged early prevision of the order.

[26] "Manrèse et les origines de la Compagnie de Jésus," *Analecta Bollandiana* (Brussels), XXVII (1908), 392-418.

[27] *Monum. Ignat.*, ser. 4ª, I, 114.

commenced to treat of a thing they had never thought of [before], which was to incorporate as a perpetual congregation."[28] And the same Polanco once informed a Jesuit historian: "The first members whom our father Ignatius recruited in Paris, and himself also, did not pass over into Italy to found a religious order, but they did so in order to go to Jerusalem and preach and die among the infidels."[29]

The selection of the name, the Society of Jesus, for the new order was Loyola's own. On this point he was resolutely opposed to any change, his stand in the matter being motivated, so he advised Polanco, by his conviction that he had come by the name through divine, not human, light.[30] The designation at first evoked protest in certain quarters on the ground that it was an impertinence for the Jesuits to claim it for themselves in view of St. Paul's teaching that all Christians are called by God "to the society of His Son, Jesus Christ."[31] But the Holy See disallowed such objections and more than once gave official sanction to the name.[32] The name, so fixed, is regarded as an essential point in the Jesuit *Constitutions* and no authority in the Church under the Holy See may change it.[33] The term "Jesuit," though recognized from an early day by the Society of Jesus as an acceptable desig-

[28] *Monum. hist., Polanci complementa,* I, 109. Laynez in his important letter sketching the character and career of Loyola gives additional testimony on the point: "Estando en Roma el dicho año, haziendo primero oración nos congregamos, y punto por punto de las cosas que tocauan a nuestra vocación, cada uno refiría las razones que le occurían pro y contra; y primeramente, sin discrepar ninguno, fué determinado que sería bien hazer una compañía que durase y no se acabase en nuestros supuestos indiuiduos." *Monum. Ignat.,* ser. 4ª, I, 146-47.

[29] *Monum. Ignat.*. ser. 1ª, V, 259.

[30] *Monum. Ignat.,* ser. 3ª, II, ccxxiii; *Monum. hist.,* Polanco, *Vita Ignatii Loyolae et rerum Societatis Jesu,* I, 72-74.

[31] I *Cor.,* I, 9.

[32] Notably in the *Ecclesiae Catholicae,* June 28, 1591, of Gregory XIV, which decreed that the name, the Society of Jesus, was to be kept *in perpetuum*: "[nomen Societatis Jesu] quo laudabilis hic ordo nascens a Sede Apostolica nominatus est et hactenus insignitus, perpetuis futuris temporibus in ea retinendum esse volumus."

[33] "Primum substantiale est: Societatem nostram Iesu nomine insigniri." *Epitome Instituti Societatis Jesu* (Rome, 1924), 15.

nation for its members, has no official standing in the Society itself, which never uses it in its official papers, nor was it employed at any time by St. Ignatius, though it circulated widely in his lifetime.[34] The term, when his order came on the scene, bore an odious connotation or even denotation, as signifying a hypocritical or otherwise unworthy cleric. How it took on this meaning is not clear; *Jesuita*, to designate one "saved by the Savior", occurs as early as the fifteenth century in Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi*.[35] At first Loyola's group were often referred to as "the pilgrim priests," or as *Iniguistae*, "followers of Iñigo." The first designation of them as Jesuits is met with in a letter of December 30, 1544, written by Peter Canisius to Peter Faber, both members of the new order: "*De nobis dicam potius qui Jesuitae dicimur.*"[36] The year previous, Antonioz Araoz, also a disciple of Loyola, had written from the Spanish court: "Some call us Iniguistae, others Papists, others Apostles, others Theatines and reformed [clerics]."[37] Canisius noted in 1545 that in Germany the men of his order, in accordance with current use of the term, were being called Jesuits by way of insult; but the term ceased before long to be an uncomplimentary one and became recognized on all hands as a conventionally legitimate designation for members of the Society of Jesus.[38]

What the Society of Jesus seeks to attain as the goal of its activities has often been misapprehended. Its true aim is formulated with distinctness in the *General Examen* (*Examen Generale*), a brief exposition of the Jesuit rule drawn up by St. Ignatius or under his direction to serve as a guide for examiners in determining the fitness for his society of candidates seeking admission into it: "The end of this society is not only to attend to the sal-

[34] "Nótese, sin embargo que la Compañía no ha usado oficialmente hasta ahora este titulo para designar á sus hijos." Astrain, I, 184, n. 3.

[35] "Sicut enim hic per gratiam baptismalem a Christo dicuntur Christiani, sic in coelesti gloria ab ipso Jesu dicemur Jesuitae, id est, a Salvatore salvati" (*Vita Christi*, P. I, Chap. X). Astrain, *loc. cit.*

[36] Otto Braunsberger, S.J., *Beati Petri Canisii SJ., Epistulae et Acta* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1896-), I, 121.

[37] *Monum. hist., Epistolae mixtae*, I, 212.

[38] Astrain, I, 183, n. 3.

vation and perfection of our own souls with the divine grace, but with the same earnestly to employ ourselves in procuring the salvation and perfection of our neighbor."[39] This statement, however, is of a general tenor, nor does it differentiate the Society of Jesus in its objective from other religious orders of the type known in the Catholic Church as *mixed*, such, namely, as combine on some working plan the life and ideals of the cloister with the external labors of the ministry. But the basic constitutional charters of the society, the *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* and the *Exposcit debitum*, state Jesuit aims concretely. Thus the former: "The Society [of Jesus] is principally constituted to work for the advancement of souls in Christian life and doctrine and for the propagation of the faith by public preaching, and the ministry of God's work, by spiritual exercises and works of charity, more particularly by grounding in Christianity boys and unlettered persons and by hearing the confessions of the faithful, aiming in all things at their spiritual consolation."[40] The view that the Jesuits were founded to combat Protestantism is entirely mythical. No such objective finds explicit or implicit mention anywhere in papal or Jesuit documents bearing on the establishment of the order.[41]

The above-cited passage from the *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* makes it clear that the original aims of the Jesuit order were wholly ministerial; they did not extend beyond the sphere of the sacred ministry, except perhaps in the single detail of charitable works (*opera caritatis*). Education, as ordinarily understood, is not envisaged. The instruction of boys is indeed emphasized as a major objective; but it is instruction in Christian doctrine, not in secular

[39] This statement of Jesuit aims from the *Examen Generale* appears as rule 2 in the *Summary of the Constitutions*, read publicly every month in communities of the order.

[40] *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*, tr. in Harvey, *op. cit.*, 261.

[41] "The Society of Jesus was founded in 1540 by Ignatius Loyola for the express purpose of defending Catholicism against the inroads of the Reformation." James Mark Baldwin, *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology* (New York, 1928), I, 579. "The essential task of the Jesuits was the elimination of Protestantism in its own strongholds." *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1932), VIII, 381. This mistaken view is discussed in Bernard Duhr, S.J., *Jesuitenfabeln: ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte* (4th ed., Freiburg im Breisgau, 1904), 1-11.

subjects. Moreover, the ministry the new religious were to exercise was to find its outlet, not in the conduct of parishes, but in missions assigned them by the Holy See, "whether to the Turks or any other infidels whatsoever, even to those inhabiting the parts they call the Indies, or to heretics or schismatics, or the faithful, too, whosoever they be" (*Regimini militantis ecclesiae*).[42] The original plan of Loyola's student band was to cultivate the foreign-mission field of Palestine; only by the stress of circumstances were they diverted something else. The "flying squadron" idea of the order, it may be noted here, expresses not inaccurately what Ignatius originally intended it to be; but the idea can be overstressed. It scarcely squares with the order as organized today or even as it came to be organized in the lifetime of its founder. Probably six-sevenths of the present-day Jesuit personnel are tied down to stationary occupations in schools, parishes, etc. Even the quota engaged in the foreign missions have their fixed occupations in which they are ordinarily not disturbed. Still the fact remains that Jesuits individually are subject without previous notice to new assignments (distant missions not excluded) at the call of superiors or of the Holy See.

Alexandre Brou, S.J., expounding the thesis that the Society of Jesus is a missionary order, concludes: "One would not be far from the historical truth in affirming that the Society was born of a desire for the foreign missions. . . . The general idea of the missions is fundamental in the Society, and the idea of missions among the heathen was with it from the start."[43] Older orders in the Cath-

[42] *Regimini militantis ecclesiae,* tr. in Harvey, 262. "Como el scopo y fin desta Compañía sea discurriendo por unas partes y por otras del mundo por mandado del summo vicario de Christo Nro. Señor o del Superior de la Compañía mesma, predicar etc." *Monum. Ignat.*, ser. 3ª, II, 385. *Cf.* parallel passage in the *Summa* of 1539: "Siue [vicarius Christi] miserit nos ad turcas, siue ad orbem nouum, siue ad luteranos, siue ad alios quoscumque infideles seu fideles." *Monum. Ignat.*, ser. 3ª, I, 17.

[43] "La Compagnie de Jésus, ordre missionaire," *Acta congressus missionum, S.I., 1925* (Rome, 1925), 7, 9. On Loyola's ideas of missionary endeavor see Anton Huonder, S.J., *Der Heilige Ignatius von Loyola und der Missionsberuf der Gesellschaft Jesu* (Aachen, 1922); Jesús María Granero, S.J., *La accion misionera y los méthodos misionales de San Ignacio de Loyola* (Burgos, 1931). Jesuit missionary activities, past and present, are surveyed in Bernard Arens, S.J., *Jesuitenorden und Weltmission* (Regensburg, 1927).

olic Church had, as a matter of fact, worked the foreign-mission field, and successfully so; but they had done so voluntarily and not in pursuance of any strict obligation to this effect imposed upon their members individually by their respective rules. The Society of Jesus was the first order so constituted that its members are bound individually by vow to accept assignments to the missions, home or foreign, and of whatever degree of difficulty, when such assignments are made by the proper authority. In this respect, therefore, among others, the Jesuits were differentiated from the previously existing orders, although since the foundation of the former new religious congregations committed to missionary aims have been established.[44] That the Society of Jesus is a missionary order juridically and by the plain prescriptions of its rule is an important point to grasp by anyone wishing to understand aright its character and aims. That it is exclusively or primarily a teaching order is a widespread misapprehension. Historically, the foreign missions and education have been the two major fields in which its energies have been deployed.[45]

The rôle which the Jesuits came to play as educators was one into which they were gradually drawn by circumstances, not one they had assumed from the first by deliberate design, as was the case in regard to the missions.[46] In none of the initial papal documents

[44] "La Compagnie de Jésus est le premier ordre religieux qui se soit expressement voué et voué tout entiere à l'oeuvre des missions." A. Brou, *op. cit.*, 11.

[45] Heinrich Boehmer, *The Jesuits: An Historical Study*, tr. from 4th ed. [German] by Paul Z. Strodach (Philadelphia, 1928), 78-80.

[46] Best documented treatment of Jesuit educational origins is Allan P. Farrell, S.J., *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education* (Milwaukee, 1938). See also Thomas A. Hughes, S.J., *Loyola and the Educational System of the Jesuits* (Great Educators Series, New York, 1892); Robert Schwickerath, S.J., *Jesuit Education: Its History and Principles Viewed in the Light of Modern Educational Problems* (St. Louis, 1904); J-B. Herman, S.J., *La pédagogie des Jésuites au XVI^e siècle: ses sources, ses caractéristiques* (Louvain, 1914); Bernard Duhr, S.J., *Die Studienordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1896); William J. McGucken, S.J., *The Jesuits and Education* (Milwaukee, 1932); Francis P. Donnelly, S.J., *Principles of Jesuit Education in Practice* (New York, 1934); Edward A. Fitzpatrick, *St. Ignatius and the Ratio Studiorum* (New York, 1933); "Educational Work of Jesuits," Paul Monroe (ed.), in *Cyclopedia of Education* (New York, 1912), III, 533; Ferdinand Tournier, S.J., "Monseigneur Guillaume du Prat au Concile de Trente",

confirming or reconfirming their Society is education mentioned as one of the activities in which its members were to engage. In neither the *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* nor the *Exposcit debitum*, the two capital Roman charters of the Society, does it find place.[47] These documents do, it is true, single out the *institutio puerorum* as an outstanding Jesuit occupation; but, as has already been pointed out, the term covers catechetical instruction in Christian doctrine, not education as ordinarily understood. Moreover, the same documents make provision for the introduction into the Society of colleges; but the colleges here in question were the Society's private seminaries (today generally known as *scholasticates*) for the training of its youth, not institutions for the training of non-Jesuit or, to use the term current in Jesuit terminology, "extern" youth.[48] Jesuit colleges as we know them today, a Georgetown or a Marquette, are unprovided for in the earliest and most basic papal legislation for the Society of Jesus.

Students of Jesuit educational origins generally indicate three stages through which the Society's colleges for extern students (*collegia externorum*) were evolved. First came its private seminaries (*collegia Nostrorum*); then the type known as "mixed colleges" (*collegia mixta*), in which extern youths were admitted to study alongside the Jesuit students or "scholastics;" finally came institutions (*collegia externorum*) maintained exclusively or nearly so for the benefit of extern students. The process of transition from the first to the third type of school is an interesting one and ample material for its documentary study is at hand in the recently

Études (Paris), XCVIII (1904), 477-84. The documentary sources for the development of the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*, particularly in Germany, are reproduced in G. M. Pachtler, S.J., (ed.), *Ratio Studiorum et institutiones scholasticae Societatis Jesu per Germaniam olim vigentes, collectae, concinnatae, dilucidatae* (*Monumenta Germaniae Pedagogica*, II, V, IX, XVI), (4 vols., Berlin, 1887-1894). See also Timothy Corcoran, S.J., *Renatae litterae Saeculo a Chr. XVI in scholis Societatis Jesu stabilitae* (Dublin, 1927).

[47] "Adde quod collegia haec illa eadem esse debent quae societas habere dicitur in Bulla Pauli III Societatem approbantis, quae sine ulla dubitatione collegia sunt ad eos instituta qui in socios admittuntur." *Monum. Ignat.*, ser. 3ª, II, cxlii.

[48] The term "extern" in Jesuit educational terminology signifies either a non-Jesuit student or a non-resident student or "day-scholar" in a school having also resident students (interns, boarders).

published critical edition of the Jesuit *Constitutions* and other volumes of the *Monumenta*.

Curious to say, not Loyola but Laynez must be regarded as the originator of the Jesuit college in its broadest sense. "Who originated (*inventó*) the colleges?" Loyola was asked by González de Cámara, compiler of the *Memorial*. The answer came without hesitation: "Laynez was the first to touch on the subject. We were finding difficulty on the score of poverty; one suggested this remedy, another that."[49] The colleges here in question were the Society's private schools for the training and education of its own members. Such schools would obviously require endowments or other fixed revenues for their support, a thing which appeared to be precluded by the rigorous poverty to which the Jesuits were to be committed by rule. But Laynez, a keen theologian, pointed out that revenue-supported institutions for the purpose named did not actually run counter to the Jesuit vow of poverty and his solution of the problem prevailed.[50]

With regard to the original model of the Jesuit college, it is to be noted that it was typically a residence-hall only, not being equipped with a teaching staff; only subsequently was the latter

[49] "Quién inuentó los collegios? R. Laynes fué il primero que tocó este punto. Nosotros hallauamos difficuldad por causa de la pobreza; y assí quién tocaua vnos remedios, quién otros." *Memorial* in *Monum. Ignat.*, ser. 4ª, I, 220, n. 138.

[50] The problem of economic upkeep varies for the different types of Jesuit houses. Novitiates, normal schools, seminaries for philosophical and theological studies, as being institutions for the spiritual and academic training of the Society's own members, should, according to its legislation, normally find their support in stable revenues from endowments and similar sources. The absence or inadequate supply of such revenues has led in recent years to the setting up in the American provinces of the order of "Jesuit Seminary Aid" associations, the object of which is to solicit financial help for the maintenance of the institutions named. In like manner, Jesuit colleges for secular youth should regularly possess endowments, in default of which they may be and, as a matter of fact, are, almost without exception, supported by students' fees. On the other hand, professed houses, domiciles primarily for the solemnly professed members of the order, are required by the *Constitutions* to live on alms and other free-will offerings; there are, however, no Jesuit houses of this category in the United States today, nor probably anywhere else, though in certain restrictions laid upon them in the matter of economic support, Jesuit "residences," numerous in the order today, are analogous to "professed houses."

feature introduced. The Jesuit youths followed courses in the university within convenient reach. In the earliest extant draft of the *Constitutions* it is stipulated that "all should go to the public schools to hear the lectures, each of his own faculty, whether the public lecturers be of the same society, as in its universities, or not."[51] The earliest indication of Jesuit legislative concern for the education of extern youth occurs in a report of discussions (1544-49) on the *Constitutions* then in process of formation, where it is stipulated that in colleges not having the full quota of Jesuit students permitted by the revenues, extern students may be admitted to fill up the quota and their expenses met from the revenues of the house.[52] In the end the education of secular youth loomed large in the mind of Ignatius, being specifically provided for in the *Constitutions*, Part IV, Chapters 7, 10-17. The *Constitutions*, however, do not legislate for or envisage in any manner colleges conducted exclusively or even primarily for extern students, though schools of this type were being promoted by Loyola as early as 1551-1552, in which years he penned letters containing practical instructions as to how they were to be established.[53]

Much discussion has turned on the questions of the precise date when schools for extern students were first opened by the Society of Jesus. To Francis Xavier belongs the distinction of having been the first of his order to propose that it enter the field of education. As early as 1542, being then in India, he petitioned Loyola, and with success, for a contingent of Jesuits to be employed

[51] *Monum. Ignat.*, ser. 3ª, II, 183.

[52] *Monum. Ignat.*, ser. 3ª, I, 188-89, II, 405. (*Constitutions*, IV, 3, Declaration B).

[53] The letters were written by Polanco in the name of Loyola. One dated Rome, December 1, 1551, was addressed to Father Antonio Araoz (*Monum. Ignat.*, ser. 1ª, IV, 5-9); the other, written in June of the following year, was addressed to Father Everard Mercurian on the occasion of his being sent to open the college of Perugia (*Ibid.*, XII, 309-11). A translation of the latter is in Farrell, 137-38. Already in 1555, and therefore before the death of Ignatius, Polanco was enumerating among the pursuits falling with in the "scope and end of this Society" the "training of youth in colleges in letters of every sort and in good morals." *Information sumaria de la Compañía de Jesús* in *Monum. hist., Polanci Complementa*, I, 108. Farrell (431-35) lists thirty-three Jesuit colleges opened in the lifetime of Ignatius and six additional ones authorized by him, but opened only after his death.

as auxiliary teachers in the non-Jesuit college of Goa. In 1545 was opened the college of Gandia in Spain, a scholasticate, which, however, soon developed into a "mixed college," some of its classes being thrown open in 1546 to extern students. This appears to have been the earliest instance in Europe of externs attending a Jesuit college. In 1548 Messina had its Jesuit college, one mainly for externs but with some scholastics of the order in attendance. Herman is authority for the statement that Loyola was at no time favorable in principle to Jesuit schools which did not provide for the education of at least a few youths of the order. Tournier concludes that Loyola definitely accepted the idea of colleges for externs not earlier than 1551; but the above referred to letters of the founder seem to indicate that his mind in the matter was made up even prior to that date.

The *Constitutions* mention specifically only *collegia Societatis* (i. e. under Jesuit proprietorship and control), without distinguishing between colleges conducted for Jesuit and those conducted for non-Jesuit youth; but they provide for the opening in the Society's colleges of "public schools" (*aperiantur scholae publicae*), by which are meant schools for externs. The omission in papal documents and the Jesuit *Constitutions* themselves of any explicit provision for colleges conducted for externs alone, which nevertheless continually multiplied in the order, led to doubt being raised in the Jesuit sixth general congregation (1608), as to whether the order might legitimately operate such schools at all; but it was decided (decree 18) that the doubt was groundless in view of the fact that the order ever since the lifetime of its founder had been conducting colleges for externs. In this case, so the congregation ruled, custom was the best interpreter of the law.[54]

With the publication in 1928-1938 of the first critical edition of the Jesuit *Constitutions*, minute and thorough-going study of the evolution of their text has become possible. The *Constitutions*, it may be explained, are in ten parts, each of these subdivided into chapters (*capita*), with frequent interpretative annotations called "declarations" (*declarationes*). The critical edition is issued in

[54] Herman, *op. cit.*, 13; Tournier in *Études*, XCVIII, 480; *Institutum Societatis Jesu* (3 vols., Florence, 1892-93), II, 294.

three volumes, of which the first, *Documenta praevia*, presents with adequate prolegomena forty-eight papal and Jesuit documents (1539-1554) illustrating the constitutional origins of the society; the second contains, together with introductory commentaries, largely historical in scope, and exhaustive textual annotations, four versions of the Spanish text of the *Constitutions* (in which language they were originally written), the last version being the official, definitive one of 1594; the third volume contains the official Latin text. For an intimate understanding of Jesuit origins and of a code of religious life which has had a profound influence on the constitutions of subsequent religious orders and congregations in the Church, these volumes are indispensable.[55]

Papers included in the *Documenta praevia* supply evidence for the interesting fact that the Jesuit rule was not formulated, as is sometimes asserted, in complete independence of the rules of the earlier orders of the Church, but in certain details (few, however) borrowed from them, in particular from those of the Benedictines, Franciscans and Dominicans.[56] Incidentally, it may be noted that it is correct to speak of the Rule of St. Ignatius as we speak of the Rules of St. Augustine, St. Benedict, St. Francis. Major points of difference between the Jesuit rule and those of previously existing orders include the following: private, not choral recitation of the "divine office" or liturgical prayer of the Church; omission of regularly prescribed corporal austerities; accommodation in the matter of garb to that of the secular clergy, no particular habit being prescribed; the taking at the end of the novitiate of simple, not solemn vows; the taking by the so-called solemnly professed members of a special vow of obedience to the pope *circa missiones*. Technically, the Jesuits are not monks, like the Benedictines, nor friars, like the Franciscans and Dominicans, but "clerks regular."[57]

[55] José Manuel Aicardo, S.J., *Commentarios á las constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús* (6 vols., Madrid, 1919-32) is important as an exposition of the historical workings of the Jesuit *Constitutions*, particularly in the lifetime of Ignatius.

[56] *Monum. Ignat.*, ser. 3ª, II, p. ccv ff.

[57] In the religious orders ante-dating the Jesuits the three vows of poverty, chastity and obedience taken at the end of the noviceship were solemn ones. In Loyola's legislation the vows rounding off the noviceship are simple; only

The Jesuit *Constitutions* are not of a secret nature, being accessible to the public in the critical edition and in other editions to be found in libraries.[58] That the order has, in addition to its published constitutions, hidden, esoteric ones, the so-called *Monita secreta*, which regulate the lives of the members, is altogether legendary. The forged character of the *Monita secreta* has been admitted on all hands. Adolph Harnack, the Lutheran theologian, wrote in 1894: "It is unfortunate that people keep on constantly exploiting falsehoods like the *Monita secreta*."[59] It is significant that in the great mass of Jesuit papers confiscated at various times by European governments and deposited by them in libraries or archives, where they have been open to the unrestricted investigation of scholars, no such secret instructions have ever come to light.

As to the authorship of the Jesuit *Constitutions*, constant Jesuit tradition, based on internal and external evidence, and the unanimous testimony of those associated with Ignatius in the founding of the order attribute them to him; but in their literary drafting he was largely dependent on Polanco. The title page of an official edition of 1937 carries the detail, "*auctore Sancto Ignatio.*" The editor of the critical edition discusses the question of authorship with searching detail, being especially at pains to establish the precise nature of the collaboration which Polanco lent to the final result. Ignatius himself, in a conversation on the subject with one of his most efficient co-laborers, Hieronymo Nadal, denied that "there was anything substantial from Polanco in the *Constitutions* except something (*aliquid*) regarding colleges and universities, which matter, however, was according to his mind." As to the

after a further period of probation extending over several years are the members of his order permitted, if otherwise qualified by studies etc., to take the same three vows as solemn ones. This legislation has since been taken over into the general canon law of the Church, which requires that the vows taken at the end of the noviceship in religious orders and congregations be simple ones only. On the nature of solemn vows *cf., supra,* n. 22. The term "clerks regular" is used variously. Essentially it designates religious devoted primarily to the ministry. The majority of the members of an order of clerks regular are priests or candidates for the priesthood.

[58] The *Monumenta* edition of the *Constitutions* is the first to be offered for sale outside the order.

[59] Cited in Dudon, *op. cit.,* 642.

sources utilized by Ignatius in framing the *Constitutions*, Polanco sums up the matter neatly by saying that the saint drew "partly on prayer, partly on discourse of reason, partly also on experience."[60] Moreover, the Jesuit rule as embodied in the *Constitutions* is essentially the same as when it left the hands of Ignatius. The notion that it underwent radical changes at the hands of his successors in the generalate, especially Laynez and Acquaviva, is gratuitous. The so-called first-class substantials of the Jesuit rule (*substantialia primi ordinis*) as detailed in its most authoritative exposition, the *Exposcit debitum* of Julius III, number twenty-four; all remain unchanged to this day, none of them having been repealed or modified.

Newman in a famous treatise elaborated the thesis that a great capital idea thrown out among men does not remain static, but tends to expand and develop, sometimes along lines not envisaged by its author.[61] So it was with Loyola's fundametal idea of "the advancement of souls in Christian life and doctrine and the propagation of the faith." It took even in his lifetime concrete shapes some of which had not been in his mind from the beginning. The case of education has been cited. As the Society came with the years to face new religious and social needs, its efforts, while remaining all the while within its authorized constitutional framework, began to run in the most diversified channels, as scientific and historical research, literary productivity, the periodical press, philanthropic and humanitarian service of almost every sort. The objective in all cases has been the same, "the defense and propagation of the faith;" the approach to this objective has been from this direction and that and along disparate ways. It is this kaleidoscopic variety of pursuit that with other factors lends interest and color to the Jesuit story.

[60] *Monum. Ignat.*, ser. 3ª, II, clxiv, cc. "Quid vero illi [testes] sentirent non videtur in dubium vocari posse, illi saltem qui utuntur verbis fare, hacer, conficere, condere et edere; his autem verbis utuntur socii primi, Polancus, Cámara, Manareus, Borgia, Torres, Araoz, Gonzalez Vaaz, ipse Ignatius" (*Ibid.*, clv). "After this I asked the pilgrim [Ignatius] about the Exercises and Constitutions that I might understand how he had written them." González de Cámara's postscript to the autobiography.

[61] John Henry Newman, *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* (London, 1920), Chap. I.

Meantime, with the march of the Society of Jesus through time there grew up around it misconception as to its aims and misrepresentation of its activities on the historical stage.[62] The British review *History* (Cambridge University), contending that the most important task before the historian today is the revision of hitherto accepted accounts and interpretations proved by the progress of research to be untenable, sets before its readers in every issue the authentic version of some conventionally misrepresented point in history. And Sir Charles Oman has written: "The standard histories of the last generation need to be revised or even to be put aside as obsolete in the light of the new information coming in."[63] Nowhere is revision more needed than in the field of Jesuit history.[64]

[62] Bernard Duhr, S.J., *Jesuitenfabeln* (*supra*, n. 41); Alexandre Brou, S.J., *Les Jésuites de la légende* (2 vols., Paris, 1906); *Concerning Jesuits* (London, 1902).

[63] George Macaulay Trevelyan, *England Under the Stuarts* (New York, 1926), preface.

[64] On the principle apparently that those within the order can be best relied upon to give an accurate and dependable account of it, editors of the standard encyclopedias have usually engaged a Jesuit writer for the article on the Society of Jesus. Thus, *Britannica* (F. X. Talbot, S.J.); *Americana* (T. F. Campbell, S.J.); J. Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (H. Thurston, S.J.); P. Monroe (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Education* (R. Schwickerath, S.J.); *Catholic Encyclopedia* (J. Pollen, S.J.); *International* (J. J. Walsh, one-time Jesuit). The hazards, factual and interpretative, attending treatment of the topic by the ill-informed are exemplified in the article on the Jesuits in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1922), VIII, 381 ff. So also the results of modern scholarly research in Jesuitica are not in evidence in F. A. Ridley, *The Jesuits: A Study in Counter-Revolution* (London, 1931), nor in Robert Ergang, *Europe from the Renaissance to Waterloo* (New York, 1939), 214-29. Even so well-meant an effort as René Fülöp-Miller's *The Power and Secret of the Jesuits* (tr. from German, New York, 1929) repeatedly travesties its subject.

Books of a popular sort dealing with the nature and aims of the Jesuit order are many. The following titles may be cited: Charles Coppens, S.J., *Who are the Jesuits?* (St. Louis, 1911); Peter Lippert, S.J., *Zur Psychologie des Jesuitenordens* (Munich, 1912); John La Farge, S.J., *The Jesuits in Modern Times* (New York, 1928); Joseph Stiglmayr, S.J., *Jesuiten: was sie sind und was sie wollen* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1918); Alban Goodier, S.J., *The Jesuits* (London, 1930); James J. Walsh, *The American Jesuits* (New York, 1934); Gaetan de Bernoville, *The Jesuits*, abridged tr. from the French by Kathleen Balfe (London, 1937). Chapter I of Jerome V. Jacobsen, S.J., *Jesuit Educational Foundations in Sixteenth Century New Spain* (Berkeley, 1937) is a basic

Conventional versions of it are repeatedly out of line with the facts. Revisionists in the field will find their task lightened by the mass of authentic data from Jesuit and other archives now available in printed sources; also, they can proceed with greater confidence of a hearing, thanks to the relaxation of sectarian bias.[65] Meantime, the Society of Jesus carries on in the religious and cultural life of the contemporary world, its membership today, as of January 1, 1939, being 25,954, which is the largest on record in the four centuries of its existence. Of this total, 5,540 are engaged, most of them in the educational profession, in the United States. For all followers of Loyola, wheresoever and in whatsoever duties employed, this quadricentennial year of their founding will no doubt have its satisfactions as it revives the memory of the eventful and not undistinguished past of their order and renews with fresh emphasis the injunction laid upon them by their rule that "they show themselves the ministers of God, and by the armor of justice on the right side and on the left, by honor and dishonor, by evil report and good report, by good success finally and ill success, press forward with great strides to their heavenly country and by all means possible and with all zeal urge on others also, ever looking to God's greater glory."[66]

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exposition of Jesuit life. A handy one-volume encyclopedia of authentic data covering the whole range of Jesuitica is Ludwig Koch, SJ., *Jesuiten-Lexikon: Die Gesellschaft Jesu, einst und jetzt* (Paderborn, 1934).

[65] Interesting, though perhaps somewhat unduly optimistic, is the following comment: "Since 1900 the situation [in regard to the Jesuits] has entirely changed. The *odium theologicum* has died away. . . . Fiery partisanship no longer distorts this ancient history." Henry Dwight Sedgwick, *St. Ignatius Loyola* (New York, 1923), xii. A recent instance of enlightened revision of a phase of Jesuit history is Robert R. Palmer, "The French Jesuits in the Age of Enlightenment," *American Historical Review*, XLV (1939), 44-58.

[66] "The Sum and Aim of our Constitutions," *Rules of the Society of Jesus* (Roehampton, England, 1894), 156.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE CHURCH TO CHILEAN CULTURE

1. The Colonial Period

That Chile should attain during the colonial period any considerable cultural development was antecedently unlikely. In the first place, the region was the farthest from Spain of all Spain's American possessions, which meant that with the exception of the La Plata region it was the last part of America to receive letters and books from the peninsula. What communication there was had to be through Peru, until well into the eighteenth century. Then, the natural features of the country called for hard work along "practical" lines rather than in the domain of art and science. In the north the desert rendered impossible the development of large urban centres or the pursuit of agriculture (the nitrate period was still far in the future); in central Chile, though the climate and the soil were more favorable, the people were too busy feeding themselves to have much time for higher pursuits; in the south the cold rain-soaked forests were inhabited by hostile Indians against whom the white settlers had to fight for their very lives and who were never wholly subdued. In such a land cultural progress was necessarily slow and could not hope to emulate the achievements of colonial Mexico or Peru.

To that land the earliest white settlers were well suited. They were of a type needed to develop a country where nature has to be coaxed by hard work. The "Spaniards" who first went to Chile were in great measure industrious people from the north, Gallegans and Basques, excellent agriculturists but not the sort of people who can be expected to produce scholars until material prosperity has been attained and assured. That is not said by way of disparagement. On the contrary, we thank those pioneers for starting Chile on the road to becoming a sturdy independent nation; we do not blame them for not abandoning that indispensable work in order to study Latin. *Primum est vivere, deinde philosophare.*

But those facts brings out only more strongly the rôle of the Church in developing Chilean cultural life. We may say without exaggeration that but for the Church there would have been no cultural life in colonial Chile at all. Every name that can be cited in connection with higher pursuits designates either an ecclesiastic or a person trained by ecclesiastics. As throughout Latin America the missioners were the pioneers in the scientific as well as the practical study of the native languages. The first colegios and the earliest elementary schools were ecclesiastical, and the lay professors of the University of San Felipe (founded in the second half of the eighteenth century) were trained in ecclesiastical institutions. The bulk of the writing produced by Chileans (some of it, after the expulsion of the Jesuits, written in Italian and published in Italy) is from the pens of ecclesiastics. In short, if you take from Chilean colonial culture the contribution of the Church there will be nothing left.

To keep this article from degenerating into a mere *catalogue raisonnée* the writer will cite those writers only who may be taken as typical or representative. First, for those who contributed to the knowledge of the Indian tongues, Araucanian and Quechua, Luis de Valdivia, Amdrés Febres, Havestadt y Vega and Pedro Nolasco Garrote, four Jesuits, are the outstanding names in that category. Their missionary activities obliged them to master the native tongues, but not content with a purely "practical" knowledge, they did as so many other missioners in South America have done namely to leave scientific studies of Araucanian and Quechua which have ever since formed the basis for the study of those tongues. Beyond their scientific value those studies powerfully affected the cultural development of Chile by facilitating the conversion of the indigenes who would otherwise have continued to wreak havoc on the Spanish settlements, thereby retarding still more their development.

Colonial Chile had no lack of theologians but much of what they wrote has passed into a deserved oblivion. Of the numerous writers in that field the most notable is Bishop Villarroel, whose *Gobierno eclesiástico pacífico y unión de los dos cauchillos*, whatever be its intrinsic value, is still important historically as giving a notion of how canon law was viewed in that epoch and especially

how an eighteenth-century Chilean bishop viewed the relation of the church to the state. The Franciscan Briceño is worth mentioning for his commentary on Duns Scotus, not because it is valuable as a commentary on the "subtle doctor" (in places it is more subtle than the writer whose subtlety it professes to elucidate) but because, like the work of Bishop Villarroel, it provides an insight into the state of theological study at the time. Unfortunately many of the theologians of colonial Chile had little literary sense. Their Spanish is bad and their Latin is worse; but since theologians are not as a class notable for literary excellence it would be unfair to single out the Chileans for stricture on that score. A more serious objection can be raised against the content of some of that theological product. There was too much fondness for miracles which appeal neither to faith nor to reason, with a corresponding neglect of the weightier things of the Law. A similar objection can be brought against some of the preaching of that era, as far as we can judge it. Chile has never lacked orators and unfortunately too many of them indulge in that abomination called " pulpit oratory ". That characteristically Spanish evil, which grew up like a weed wherever the Spaniards obtained control and against which Saint Philip Neri had to contend in Naples, is now happily on the decline. There are in Chilean sermons today fewer acrobatics than there seem to have been two hundred years ago. In those happy days some preachers seemed intent chiefly on turgid bombast and tricky methods of argumentation. The latter defect grew out of their seminary training, which, as one Chilean bishop put it, produced disputants rather than thinkers. Excessive syllogizing, with its distinguishing and counter-distinguishng and subdistinguishng and subsuming of the minor and so on, may train a person to juggle with words, but it does not train him for the clear presentation of ideas and tends to repel rather than to attract. Out of the mass of sermons left us from the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries one collection stands out as genuinely valuable, the discourses on faith and morals by Goyeneche—and they were written in Araucanian. They proved of immense value to missioners and probably saved many a soul that would have been left cold by the more pretentious productions of the "pulpit orators".

It is in history that most of the permanently valuable writings appeared. Menendez y Pelayo has said that every Chilean is a born historian. Well, it is possible to name some Chileans whose natal endowments do not include a strong historical sense, but a statement like that of the eminent Spanish critic must be taken as it is intended, and understood in that light it contains a truth. There is no doubt that Chile, both colonial and modern, has produced many devotees of history, proportionately more than any other Latin American country. Why that is so, it is difficult to say, but the fact is that very early the Chileans began to take an interest in their own past and to write about it. The first, and one of the best, of Chilean historians is Cristóbal de Molina, who in his sixteenth-century *Conquista y población del Perú* gives the first written account of the Spanish invasion of Chile. Molina's work is excellently written and would be a credit, both as a work of history and as a contribution to literature, to any country; it is especially praiseworthy coming from Chile three hundred years ago when, as has been said, circumstances were not altogether favourable to higher studies. I have said that Molina was the *first* of Chilean historians, because his predecessors Valdivia (who founded Santiago) and Góngora Marmolejo (who accompanied Valdivia) were not Chileans but Spanish conquerors. If we include them among "Chilean" historians we must go back to the middle of the sixteenth century for the beginnings of national historiography and say that Chile began to write about her history almost as soon as she began to make it.

In the first half of the seventeenth century appeared the *Historica relación del Reino de Chile y de las Misiones, y ministerios que exercita en él la compañía de Jesús* (Rome, 1646) of the Jesuit Ovalle (1601-1651), probably the best work of its kind that colonial Chile produced, despite the author's readiness to include in his narrative much that is at least doubtful. Ovalle's work is so beautifully written that it has merited the praise of the Spanish Academy and of Barault as a model of classical style. Better known, owing to the edition by Vicuña Mackenna, is Father Rosales' (1605-1677) *Historia general del Reino de Chile*, which remained unknown until Vicuña Mackenna brought it out in a splendid edition in 1878.

While its value as history is not of the highest, since in that field it contributes little of importance that could not be gleaned from other sources, it is a veritable mine of information on such matters as soil, climate, native customs, etc. And, like Father Ovalle, Father Rosales could write readable and elegant Spanish. He also wrote the *Conquista espiritual de Chile* which, though not attaining the standard of the former work, is important for the history of the Jesuits in Chile in the seventeenth century. A similar work by the Jesuit Olivares (1674-1770) is his *Historia de los Jesuitas*, one of the numerous histories of religious orders which appeared in colonial Chile, chiefly Franciscan, Dominican and Augustinian. Olivares is also the author of *Historia militar, civil y sagrada del Reino de Chile*, a work which has been put under contribution by historians since, though in many respects it has been superseded. Like his fellow Jesuits, Olivares could write, which may have something to do with the fact that his writing is still read.

The expulsion of the Jesuits, a measure very unpopular in Chile, caused some of them to settle in Italy, which accounts for the fact that some important works in the history of Chilean literature were written in Italian and published in Italy. Probably the best of them is Molina (1737-1829), who wrote in Latin verse a biography of Olivares (who was his teacher), *Analogía de los tres reinos de la Naturaleza* (in Italian) and *Compendio della storia geografica, naturale e civile del Regno del Chile* (in Italian, later translated by himself into Spanish). The last mentioned is the work by which he is chiefly remembered. For powers of observation and of scientific deduction it is superior to most other works of that period and caused him to be so highly esteemed in Italy that Bologna erected a statue to his memory. One of his fellow-Jesuits in Italy was Lacunza (1731-1801), author of *La Venida del Mesías en Gloria y Magestad.* It appeared under the pen name of Johannan Jehoshaphat ben Ezra but that disguise did not save him from falling foul of the ecclesiastical authorities for his teaching on the second coming of Christ.

In poetry the name that will spring immediately to the mind is Ercilla (1533-1594), whose epic *La Araucana* has not only secured recognition as a classic of Spanish literature but has over-

shadowed all subsequent poetry of the colonial era. Pedro de Oña's (c. 1571- ?) *El Ignacio de Cantabria*, a tribute to Ignatius Loyola, is among the most distinctively religious of his productions. His poem on Cabrera (*El Vasauro*) was acquired some years ago by the University of Chile and has not yet been published, though it has been highly praised by those few who have been privileged to read it. More to our purpose is *Compendio historial del descubrimiento, conquista y guerras del Reino de Chile*, published at Lima in 1630, by Melchior Jufré del Aguila, since it contains long passages on the work for peace with the Araucanians conducted by Father Valdivia. About the only other poetical compositions which need concern us here are those of the Dominican Father Lopez, whose humorous productions, though of no great literary merit, are important in that they convey a notion not only of the society of that day, both ecclesiastical and lay, but also of the ideals then most cultivated in that class of writing.

Chile had in addition to the theologians already mentioned, three bishops outstanding in scholarship: Lizárraga, Jerónimo de Oré and Jacinto Jorquera. She had also her writers on philosophy, on geography, hydrography, cartography, her narrators of voyages and adventures, many of whom were priests. Some of those writings are still of value, especially those which describe natural features of Chile, customs of the inhabitants and so on; the rest are no longer read except by persons whose interest is purely academic and historical.

Hitherto I have named a few—a very few—of the *writers* of colonial Chile. The point the author wishes to make is that since the majority of them were ecclesiastics and the rest were trained by ecclesiastics they may fairly be cited as evidencing the influence of the Church on Chilean culture during the colonial epoch. But we now come to evidence which is more immediate and direct, namely, schools. There were two seminaries, one in Santiago and one in Concepción, though for a while they had to be united because of scarcity of money and of students. Their merit varied from time to time, until the advent of Bishop Alday y Aspée in the latter half of the eighteenth century. That man was one of the most brilliant scholars, ecclesiastical or lay, in all colonial Latin

America. After a notable career at the University of San Marcos in Lima he returned to Santiago and rapidly rose to high posts in the Church, finally becoming bishop of his native see. He injected new vigor into church life by raising the standard, both moral and intellectual, of the clergy, and the effect of his rule is still felt. Among the many improvements he effected in the intellectual formation of his priests was his reorganization of the seminary, which raised it to a level it has, with occasional partial eclipses, maintained ever since. That the *Seminario Pontificio de Santiago de Chile* today ranks high among the seminaries of America is owing largely to a bishop who has been dead more than a century and a half. The effect of that on Chilean culture can easily be imagined.

Chile also had her universities, both dating from early in the seventeenth century, one Dominican and one Jesuit. Like many Latin American "universities" today they include much that in the United States would be considered undergraduate or even high school study; moreover, they were predominantly philosophical and theological schools, excellent in their kind and representative of their era but not such as would attract the lay student of 1940. Young Chileans not intending to enter the priesthood usually went (when they could) to San Marcos in Lima, and a fortunate few actually crossed the ocean to Spain, so that there always were in colonial Chile laymen whose intellectual formation was somewhat broader than was possible for those who had depended solely on the opportunities offered at home. That situation led to a movement for a national university which finally culminated in the establishment, in the second half of the eighteenth century, of the University of San Felipe. Though its existence was, largely owing to meagre financial resources, precarious down to the period of independence and even for some time after, and it never attained the prestige of Lima or Mexico, still it is notable as marking a departure from the tradition that education was primarily the task of the clergy, because its faculty contained a generous sprinkling of lay professors. As time went on the influence of the Church over it became less and after the securing of independence it emerged as a secular institution, *La Universidad de Chile*, under which designation it has survived to our own day.

There were also numerous elementary schools conducted by the clergy, especially in connection with rural parishes, and they made an important if humble contribution to the national culture. But in the education of women colonial Chile was not ahead of the rest of Latin America. It is possible to cite names of learned ladies who lived in Chile at that period but they are hardly more than isolated individuals, signifying little or nothing as to the education of women in general. What intellectual formation Chilean girls received in those days was acquired in convents and was below the standard of that open to their brothers, not to speak of the standard in female education today. Since the Chilean woman took little, if any, part in public affairs, and was expected to become a submissive wife and tender mother, she was imbued with "a fugitive and cloistered virtue" which, whatever its influence on family and social life, contributed little to cultural progress.

From the above it would seem that in colonial Chile, while its cultural achievements are not so great as those of which other parts of Latin America can boast, there are nevertheless numerous bright spots in the picture and considering the circumstances the tale is at least moderately creditable. But the essential point at the moment is that the culture of colonial Chile, such as it was, would never have been attained at all but for the Church. Directly and indirectly the Church was concerned with whatever artistic and scientific activity existed and, if we take into account the obstacles the wonder is not that she accomplished so little but that she accomplished so much. In fact there is really only one point in which she seems to have failed, and even that has been overstated by anti-Catholic writers. The censorship of books, though not objectionable on principle (unless we are prepared to place indiscriminately in the hands of everybody all the heretical and pornographical literature of the world) was carried to excess. It is hard to see why the Chileans were forbidden to read the essays of Addison or Robinson Crusoe, books now given as prizes in Catholic schools, but the fact is that those and equally innocuous writings were on the black list, along with other books which certainly deserved to be there. The only excuse is that the ecclesiastical authorities acted on the principle that since England was an heretical country

everything written in English was dangerous, a rather broad conclusion which does more credit to their zeal than to their intelligence.

2. The National Period

It has already been said that the establishment of the University of San Felipe is notable as marking the first considerable participation of the laity in formal education. That tendency increased during the last years of the eighteenth century, owing to a number of Chileans who returned from travels and studies in Europe, especially France. Not only had they read the works of French deists and imbibed their philosophy but they succeeded in smuggling those works into Chile (as they had been smuggled into other parts of Latin America) and in spreading them there. That era may, then, be taken as the beginning of the secularization which is a marked feature of Chilean intellectual life during the nineteenth century. Very nearly all the people were Catholics and a large majority of them, when they called themselves Catholics, really meant what they said. But the intellectual influence of the Church was not proportionate to her numerical strength. Some of the intellectuals were at best lukewarm adherents to the faith of their fathers and some were out-and-out anti-Catholic. Since such persons were "liberal" in politics the Church found herself perforce on the side of the conservative land-holding aristocracy, so that to be a "devout" Catholic was too often taken to mean that one was opposed to every movement for social and political "reform". The accusation was by no means fully justified but there was in it enough truth to give it currency, when there should have been no truth in it at all. The final outcome of all that was that during the nineteenth century the Church in Chile did not possess over education anything like the influence she had possessed during the colonial era. One could easily draw up a list of Chilean scholars of high rank, from 1820 to 1900, who, whatever may have been their personal convictions and practices, can hardly be cited as evidencing Catholic culture. The writer is not thinking now of mathematicians or engineers, since the influence of religion can hardly be looked for in such studies, but such pursuits only as history, philosophy, jurisprudence and the like is meant, in which

a person's religion certainly does make a difference. To be sure, it would be possible to make a catalogue of genuinely Catholic scholars in those fields, but comparing list with list the Church would probably not make as good a showing as we should desire. But, as has been said, we are not going to suffer this article to degenerate into a catalogue. Confining oneself to a broad view of the subject, which is all that is possible in a single sketch like this, it would seem that the culture of nineteenth-century Chile was not exclusively or even predominantly Catholic, a situation to be traced to a revolt from Catholicism which began under eighteenth-century French influence and was accentuated and embittered by the false position in which the Church found herself as the defender of what are called "vested interests". But the picture is not so dark as such a judgment may at first suggest it is. It contains some very bright spots. In the first place, there was a great improvement in Catholic education in the field of what we should call private schools. Both in quantity and in quality the church schools for boys were very good and some were excellent. In the earlier days their curricula were mainly traditional, confined mostly to the classical languages and mathematics; then in time they were broadened to include more modern subjects. Convent schools for girls were also established and have been highly successful. In the second place, the Catholics, seeing that the national university was predominantly secular, established in Santiago a Catholic university which in the half century of its existence has forged ahead until now it is at least on a par with the state institution. There is also a Catholic university in Valparaiso. Those two universities have done a great deal toward restoring Catholic intellectual influence in Chile and thus warding off the danger that Chile would step by step degenerate into a state purely secular and ultimately pagan. Finally, the establishment about a hundred years ago of *La Revista Católica* was an act whose importance can not be over-estimated. Though like periodicals generally it has had a chequered career, its quality depending necessarily on the people who are controlling it at a given time, on the whole it has maintained a high standard and is today read far outside of Chile (though it is not often seen in the United States). Besides

giving ecclesiastical news it covers the fields of theology, philosophy, history, literature and the natural sciences, and its book reviews are among the best in South America, which is saying a great deal. Its recent series of articles on "Chilenismos" has been hailed as an important contribution to Latin-American philology. All in all, it is a magazine that has to be reckoned with by anyone who wants to keep abreast of Chilean culture.

One of the most welcome features of the revival in Chilean ecclesiastical life which has followed on the separation from the state in 1925 has been the interest manifested in social activities among the poor. The Chilean church having emancipated itself from the aristocracy has set to work to get down among the "rotos" of Valparaiso and the "brimboncillos" of Santiago and the other cities, and as the number of trained social workers increases the effect of this healthy and essentially Catholic activity is becoming increasingly apparent. Its influence on "culture" is slow but sure. Improvement in living conditions among what are falsely called the "lower" classes and the provision for them of free Catholic schools inevitably will make a difference. Where the laboring man and woman have been taught to read and to think the national culture cannot remain the prerogative of a privileged class and becomes less self-conscious and therefore more genuine. Consequently growing influence of the church among the Chilean poor is to the student of culture a reason for entertaining lofty hopes for the future of Chilean science and Chilean art. In fact, in Chile as in Latin America generally, the Church seems to be entering on a period which, unless her progress is checked by Communism or Nazism or Fascism, will surpass in glory the brightest days of her past.

EDWIN RYAN

MISCELLANY

Gallitzin Source Material

This year (1940) marks the centenary of the death of the Reverend Demetrius A. Gallitzin. He was an outstanding figure in the early Catholic missionary period of our country. His noble birth and thorough education as well as his faithful and successful work in western Pennsylvania make him a subject worthy of our study and admiration.

A few books together with a number of short articles on his life and labors have appeared. But thus far some of his letters and other archival material have either not been printed or at least not sufficiently studied. It is our conviction that a real critical life of this pioneer priest still remains to be written.

In the following pages an attempt is made to list and to evaluate the main printed sources for the life and labors of the Reverend Demetrius A. Gallitzin.

The first to take up his pen to write the life of Gallitzin was the Reverend Henry Lemcke, O.S.B. He certainly was in a position to know his subject thoroughly since he worked with the venerable missionary for the last six years of the latter's life. Moreover, Lemcke was his immediate successor in the pastorate of St. Michael's Church, Loretto, Pennsylvania, the place founded by Gallitzin.

The Reverend Henry Lemcke, O.S.B., was born in the town of Mecklenburg, Germany, July 27, 1796. It is known that he was a talented lad and fairly studious; both his father and mother took little interest in the boy's education but with the aid of his grandfather and a doctor living with the family he acquired a good preliminary training. The boy's home life was very unhappy, so much so that he ran away twice. The second time he left he went to Schwerin, where he entered school. War broke out between France and Germany, and, although only eighteen years of age, he responded to the call of arms to help repel the invaders under Napoleon. At the end of the war Lemcke returned and entered the University of Rostock with the purpose of preparing himself for the Lutheran ministry. In 1819, he completed his studies, successfully passed his examinations and was admitted to the ministry of the Lutheran Church. Lemcke did not remain a minister for long. The writings of Luther turned him from the Lutheran persuasion. Some of his friends who were Catholics played a leading rôle in bringing about his conversion to the Catholic Church. On April 24, 1824, Lemcke became a Catholic; two years

later he was ordained a priest by Bishop Sailer at Ratisbon. The first few years of his priestly life he spent in his native country. One day a few friends were visiting him and during the conversation one of them showed him a letter he had received from Bishop Francis P. Kenrick of Philadelphia. In the letter the bishop urgently appealed for priests. This appeal, coupled with some remarks made by his friends, made such a deep impression on him, that then and there he decided to devote himself to the American missions. In 1834, he came to the United States, and after being stationed a short time at Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia, he asked to be sent as assistant to the aged and infirm Prince Gallitzin at Loretto, Pennsylvania. Lemcke took up his residence in the neighboring town of Ebensburg, from where he attended to a portion of Gallitzin's district, about fifty miles in extent. He worked with Gallitzin for about six years, and after the old missionary's death, succeeded him as pastor for another four years. After that Lemcke left Loretto, labored in various other places and on November 29, 1882, died at the ripe old age of eighty-six. Such in brief, is the sketch of this remarkable man, who was a strong-willed boy; twice a runaway; a student; a soldier; a Lutheran preacher; and a priest on two continents for a period extending over fifty years.

Lemcke had the greatest admiration for Gallitzin. After the latter's death he always had the strong desire to write his friend's life. The work done by this pioneer priest deeply impressed him. He bemoaned the fact that oftentimes great men pass from the scene of their labors, and years afterwards people would be eager to know something about them. He also states that many articles on some phase of Gallitzin's life and labors had appeared, but they were of no value to German-speaking people, since all of them were written in English. And he likewise claims that almost everything writen on Gallitzen was uninteresting and often incorrect because it was based on hearsay or groundless reports.

It was Lemcke's wish to clear up many things about Gallitzin, and especially to present the public with a complete life of his fellow-missionary. The author maintains that he will try to give his readers a well-authenticated life of the famous missionary because he, and he alone, had all the necessary facts about him, partly written by hand, partly from memory. The author warns us that old people are supposed to be talkative, especially when they begin to reminisce or talk of matters closest to their hearts.

Lemcke in his book also informs us that Gallitzin was now dead twenty years and those who knew him were gradually dying and there was hardly anyone living who knew as much about him as he did, since he not only knew him personally, but was his trusted bosom friend, confessor, and co-worker for the last six years of Gallitzin's life.

Furthermore, Lemcke was the immediate successor of Gallitzin and was surrounded by people who knew and loved the illustrious missionary.

The main reason, however, which should have qualified the author to write his friend's life is the following fact: after the death of Gallitzin he came into possession of a great number of documents and letters which gave him a deep insight into his interior and exterior life from his earliest childhood. Gallitzin fortunately had the habit of keeping all his correspondence and also a duplicate of every important letter that he sent out. It was his custom to save every piece of paper on which he had noted down the ordinary happenings of the day. All this material was kept in an old trunk, which contained his mother's memoirs and all his own letters and notes down to the last tailor's bill.

This trunk with its precious contents came into the hands of Lemcke when he took over the old missionary's parish. Lemcke tells us that when the mood was upon him, he would sit down next to the old trunk and for hours methodically go through these papers, select and carefully read those which threw light upon Gallitzin. The result of such painstaking efforts made him thoroughly familiar with every phase of his subject. His patience bore fruit, because in this way he became well acquainted with his deceased friend. He became Gallitzin's shadow, as it were, from birth until May 6th, 1840, when he closed the old priest's eyes in death. And this fact, the author thought, placed upon his shoulders the obligation to transmit to posterity this pioneer missionary's loving memory.

From Lemcke's own words it becomes quite evident that he was in a wonderful position to know his friend and to write his life. Outside of this knowledge of his subject, the author had other qualifications which should have aided him in his work. The writer's education, though not of the best, was far above the ordinary. He also had a varied career which brought him into contact with many people and places both in the Old and New World. This fact should have broadened his outlook on life considerably. It was said of Lemcke that he had a retentive memory, as well as the happy faculty of relating anecdotes and past events in a most interesting manner. Another factor that should add to the value of his work is that the *Life* of Gallitzin is not the only work of Lemcke's pen. He translated Gallitzin's, *Defense of Catholic Principles*, as well as William Cobbett's, *History of the Protestant Reformation in England and Ireland* into German. Now and then he also contributed an article to a Catholic periodical, but how many, it is impossible to say. All these factors should be taken into consideration when we come to judge the merit of his work. Prescinding from all these qualifications, however, we must condidly confess that the book is by no means perfect. To begin with, the work comes from the hands of a man who cautions us that people who are old are talkative. Hence, we find lacking perfect balance, in so far that certain phases of Gallitzin's life are over-stressed whereas others are not fully treated. This leaves us with a picture that is not complete in every detail. It must also be borne in mind that Lemcke was no trained writer, for never

in his life did he have leisure for literary work either by vocation or predilection.

The result of these handicaps is evident in his work. He was not familiar with our modern methods of historical research and critical presentation. The biography as a result lacks certain features which are indispensable for a critical life. Monsignor Andrew A. Lambing points out Lemcke's chief weakness when he states that it is to be regretted that in too many cases Lemcke does not give us precise dates, but merely indicates the time of events in a vague manner. We must also regret the disappearance of so many of Gallitzin's letters and documents. How much would we now value the old trunk with its precious contents! But all in all, Lemcke did as well as could be expected of him under the circumstances. The book he gave to the public is a valuable mine of information, and all subsequent books or articles on Gallitzin of worthwhile excellence have extensively used him as a source. Those interested in the life of Gallitzin will be glad to hear of the forthcoming publication of a translation of the *Leben und Wirken des Prinzen Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin*, von P. Henry Lemcke (Muenster, 1861). The translation has been done by the Reverend Joseph C. Plumpe, professor of the Pontifical College Josephinum, Worthington, Ohio.

The Reverend Thomas Heyden, another contemporary of Gallitzin, also wrote the life of his friend. His work appeared under the title: *Life and Character of Rev. Prince Demetrius A. de Gallitzin*. He was an intimate friend of the illustrious missionary and after the latter's death was appointed pastor of St. Michael's Church, Loretto. But not wishing to be separated from his congregation at Bedford, Pennsylvania, to which he was much attached, he declined the appointment. Heyden afterwards regretted this step, for by that means Gallitzin's letters and papers, which were of the greatest literary and historical interest, as well as personal value, were suffered to become scattered and lost.

The author was born in Ireland in 1798, but in infancy came to America with his parents, the family settling at Bedford, Pennsylvania. Here he spent his childhood and youth until he was old enough to enter Mount St. Mary's College, there to prepare himself for the priesthood. After the completion of his studies, he was ordained on May 21, 1821. Heyden held various posts in the diocese of Philadelphia. At one time, the bishopric of Natchez, Mississippi, was offered him, but he declined, preferring his native town of Bedford, where he labored successfully until his death in the year 1870.

The reason which prompted Heyden to write the life of his friend is expressed by him as follows:

> The author of this sketch who, for almost a quarter of a century, had been bound by the closest bonds of amity with the Rev. Prince, has been frequently urged by respected friends, to compose and publish a notice of

> his life. The reason for this application to him, doubtless, was the well known fact of the great friendship between the parties . . . the circumstances of his having assisted at his dying moments . . . his having twice preached his funeral sermon, viz: first, on the day of his interment; again, on the removal of his remains to the new monument; his having lectured several times on his life and services, besides his being well acquainted with the history of Loretto and its large congregation.*

Heyden bemoans the fact that the life of Gallitzin had not been written sooner. He asserts that an English narrative of Gallitzin's career should have been published twenty years ago, when all the old families and prominent settlers of his parish still were living, and when all the traditions and minute circumstances of his missionary toils were fresh in the memories of all.

Monsignor Lambing gives us a different reason than the author alleges for writing the life of Gallitzin. He maintains that it was commonly said at the time that the reason Heyden published the work was because, when Miss Sarah M. Brownson undertook to write the life of the distinguished missionary and naturally applied to him for such material as he might have in his possession, Heyden would not on the one hand part with it, and felt on the other, that he must try to be first in the field, if he wanted to put himself on record.

It must be admitted that the author certainly was qualified to write the life of his friend since he was a diligent student during his whole life, a profound scholar, and one of the most eloquent and impressive preachers of this country. Monsignor Lambing, however, states that, although Heyden was a learned man and devoted to study, still he left few writings after him. With the exception of some published lectures and sermons there is nothing but the *Life* of his early and devoted friend.

The book did not come up to the expectation of his friends, and many were keenly disappointed. It can be said, however, that the work contains a certain amount of information and a fair estimate of the character of the subject. That the author was in a position to know his subject well is certain because he was in possession of many original documents, was familiar with the scenes and circumstances of Gallitzin's large missionary field, and had been his personal friend and fellow-laborer for twenty years. But he deferred the writing of his friend's life until he was too far advanced in years, and then brought it out too hastily.

From what has been stated it can not be concluded that the book has no merits. It contains one feature that gives it some value as a source, namely, an appendix in which the author states that the Reverend Prince has left a succinct statement of his history—especially relating to what may

* Heyden, Thomas, *Life and Character of Rev. Prince Demetrius A. de Gallitzin* (Baltimore, 1869).

be called his peculiar trials brought on by his family difficulties, as far as the loss of his estate is concerned. The author was in possession of this memoir and valued it as a precious relic. Heyden claims that he gathered his facts principally from this memoir and would give it in its entirety, with the exception of what he had already laid before his readers.

In general, it must be admitted that the book is disappointing. Heyden neglected the splendid opportunity to give us a critical life of the illustrious missionary. Instead, he merely extols the virtues of his friend, and in so doing slips into some exaggerations and a few inaccuracies as well. It is true, these defects are not of such a glaring nature as to give us a false picture of Gallitzin; still, they make his work unreliable. Besides, the author lacked adequate critical insight in the use of Gallitzin's notes and letters. And, no matter how well he knew his subject, the conviction remains that his work is neither authoritative nor completely reliable as a source.

The best known work on the life of Gallitzin, however, comes from the pen of Sarah M. Brownson. Her work is entitled: *Life of Demetrius A. Gallitzin, Prince and Priest.*

Sarah Brownson, the daughter of Orestes A. Brownson, was born at Chelsea, Massachusetts, June 7, 1839, and died at Elizabeth, New Jersey, October 30, 1876. She wrote a number of literary criticisms for her father's *Review* as well as articles, stories, and poems, which appeared mainly in Catholic magazines. Three novels also came from her pen which are interesting and original, at least if we can rely upon the verdict of her brother. Miss Brownson's principal and best known work is the *Life of Gallitzin.* In trying to obtain material for her narrative she experienced much difficulty. The author claims that in her case the obstacles with which every biographer has to contend even under the most favorable circumstances were multiplied. The reasons are given by the writer when she tells us that the most valuable papers of Gallitzin had been mutilated, destroyed, or placed beyond reach. Besides, she had to be careful in weighing all her facts, because they had been improperly interpreted and perverted by incompetent commentators, until it was almost impossible to place them in their true light with their original significance. Miss Brownson also experienced other difficulties in gathering the necessary material for her work. Monsignor Lambing informs us that Miss Brownson approached the Reverend Thomas Heyden and asked him for his papers and notes on Gallitzen. He was unwilling to part with his papers and notes since he himself wished to write the life of his friend. In one of the footnotes of her book the author states that for some reason or other permission was refused her to use the library of Gallitzin. The author made use of a number of sources for her *Life.* These are indicated in the Preface of her work. The book itself reveals that the writer used mainly the *Life* of Gallitzin by Lemcke and the Baltimore archives. Her

father, Orestes A. Brownson, wrote the Introduction to the book and he assures us that his daughter labored conscientiously at her task, and that she spared neither time nor pains in collecting and arranging the facts of the life and labors of the illustrious missionary, as far as the facts could be verified. The author herself alleges that every doubtful or unauthorized statement was carefully excluded from her book and no pains were spared to obtain the most reliable information on her subject.

The purpose the author had in mind in writing the life of Gallitzin is expressed by her as follows:

> The history of his exterior life has been often outlined and faintly sketched, but always with error, inaccuracies, and misrepresentation, invariably failing to support it by the incidents relating to the universal opinion of his saintly character, his heroic life, and the charming, cheerful, delightful tradition of his fiery, but admirable dispositions. In the present volume the aim has been to be accurate and exact, to present not certain phases of his character, but to show it, as far as possible, in its completeness . . . showing him, if possible, even greater in what he was than in what he did.*

The book itself reveals that its chief merit consists in the sources the author used. She quotes freely from the letters of Gallitzin and she likewise makes good use of the Baltimore archives and the life of Gallitzin by Lemcke. Monsignor Lambing states that the chief value of the book is found in the numerous letters and documents it presents to the reader.

The style of the author is mid-Victorian, profuse and digressing. The book is replete with the exuberance and desultory details so characteristic of feminine authors. Its chief weakness, therefore, consists in the extensive use of hyperbole and the writer's bad habit of moralizing. The author in her work also shows the tendency to gloss over the defects of her subject and attribute too many superhuman qualities to her hero. In short, we can safely assert that the value of the work as a source can be summed up by saying that its chief merit consists in the sources which Miss Brownson uses and quotes so freely.

The book entitled, *Souvenir of Loretto Centenary*, by the Reverend Ferdinand Kittell, is also of some value in helping us arrive at a true picture of Gallitzin's life and labors. The author of this book was intimately connected with the Loretto settlement by reasons of birth and relationship. These factors aroused his deep interest in the illustrious missionary.

The Reverend Ferdinand Kittell was born at Ebensburg, Pennsylvania, April 20, 1847. His father was a well-known lawyer of that community. The young boy early evinced a desire to become a priest and when he was

* Brownson, Sarah M., *Life of Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin, Prince and Priest* (New York, 1873), 3.

old enough, he entered St. Michael's Seminary, Pittsburgh. Here the young seminarian pursued his studies until his bishop sent him to Rome to finish his theological training. On June 3, 1871, Kittell was ordained to the priesthood in the Basilica of St. John Lateran. The newly ordained priest then came back to the United States, where he was made president of St. Francis College, Loretto, Pennsylvania, and assistant at St. Michael's Church of the same community. Kittell held various posts in the Diocese of Pittsburgh, but on April 1, 1891, he was sent to take charge of St. Michael's church as pastor, where he arranged and successfully carried out the celebration of the centenary of the Loretto community.

The reason for the publication of the book is indicated in the title itself. The author in the Preface informs us that the work was simply what its title indicated — a souvenir of the centenary of the parish, the oldest in Western Pennsylvania. He continues to say that the book makes no pretence to originality, but was merely a compilation of papers, facts, names and dates, which should indicate the progress made during the centenary just closed, and should furnish valuable and interesting data for the future historian of the church in the diocese of Pittsburgh. The author is likewise modest and conservative enough to warn us that even as a compilation it is far from perfect. The excuse offered for its shortcomings was because the matter was collected and arranged during the hours that the author could spare from a busy pastoral life. Many items well worthy of being recorded, he asserts, have been omitted, and others, noted in the work, have been inadequately treated.

The book contains much valuable data on Gallitzin, as well as on the people who first came to his community. Kittell had access to some sources to which the other writers preceding him did not. He found the records of Gallitzin from 1800 to a few days before his death in 1840, written on loose sheets and kept in a box. Later on, he arranged the sheets chronologically, and had them bound, together with the records of Lemcke, in two volumes.

The book is divided into three sections. The first and second sections especially are of much value as a source. Here we find such informative topics listed as: "First Settlement on the Alleghenies," "Inscription on the Tombstone of Captain Michael McGuire," the founder of the settlement, "Extracts from Father Gallitzin's Letters," "Local Historical Notes" based on Miss Brownson's work, histories of Pennsylvania and Cambria County, the files of the *Pittsburgh Catholic* and local papers, and on the recollections of aged citizens.

While the main purpose of the book was to trace the story of the first Catholic mission of Western Pennsylvania, it contains much that gives us a splendid background history of Gallitzin and his people. Kittell's work is not only an adequate research of the oldest parish in Western Pennsylvania, but it also contains important and interesting

general notes for the future historian of the Church in that state. In no other volume could a biographer of the pioneer priest of the Alleghany Mountains find fuller details, not to speak of illustrative matter or local color.

Therefore, any one wishing to write the life of Gallitzin must not neglect to scan the pages of this volume, for in it he will find hidden away many valuable phases of Gallitzin's life and labors not found in any other source.

Another woman, the Baroness Pauline Von Hügel, wrote a short sketch of Gallitzin's life and labors. Her work appeared serially in the *Ave Maria* magazine from April to September during the year 1903. Later on these articles were put out in book form under the title: *A Royal Son and Mother.*

This small work offers little as source material for Gallitzin's life and labors. It was written for edification. A few quotations appear here and there in the work, but no references are given to indicate their source. The work makes interesting reading, but as a source it can be safely ignored.

The latest biography of Gallitzin to appear comes from the pen of Sister M. Fides Glass who is still living. The book made its appearance only two years ago under the title: *The Prince Who Gave His Gold Away.* The author, born at Loretto, knows her people and locale. In romantic fashion she portrays the life and labors of Father Gallitzin. The biography, as the title clearly indicates, is a fairy tale that is real—of Demetrius, born Prince of Gallitzin.

The urge that impelled her to write about this famous subject is not far to seek. The author informs us that she spent her girlhood in the locality settled by Gallitzin and heard from her mother many stories concerning this pioneer priest. They were handed down from her great-grandmother, who lived thirty-nine years after the death of the Prince.

The work can lay no claim to originality but is based almost entirely on Miss Brownson's *Life* of Prince Gallitzin. Sister M. Fides Glass states that she merely compiled and arranged facts that were collected long ago. These she retells in fictional style in order that young people might be interested. Besides the use of Miss Brownson's work, the author asserts that some episodes in her book are not in Brownson's; these facts were handed down to her from her great-grandmother, who was a friend of Prince Gallitzin. Additional information she acquired from other sources.

The book itself adds nothing to our knowledge of Gallitzin, and as a source it can be safely omitted. The work contains many incidental remarks of some historical value, but it is necessary carefully to sift fact from fancy, prose from poetry, reason from imagination. Besides, no references, that would enable the reader to check on the accuracy of facts stated, are to be found anywhere in the work. This fact, together with the purpose of the book itself, makes it of no value as source material.

It is not to be inferred from the above that the book has no value. On the contrary, it has its useful purpose. For one thing, the writer selects only those events of Gallitzin's life which have a particular fascination for the young, and perhaps even for the old who are young at heart. Without doubt, the book will arouse interest and love in the hearts of many for this heroic pioneer missionary of Western Pennsylvania.

Most famous men or women in life owe much of their greatness to their mothers. This is certainly true of Gallitzin. No other person in this world had more influence in the shaping of his life and character than his illustrious mother, the Princess von Gallitzin. In order, therefore, to arrive at a better knowledge of Gallitzin, it is necessary to know something about his mother.

Three books, in particular, are a great aid in helping us arrive at a fairly complete knowledge of the Princess. The first one under consideration is entitled: *Memoirs of the Princess von Gallitzin, born Countess von Schmettau.* The author, Doctor Theodor Katercamp, tells us that the purpose of the book is to relate the story of a soul that passed through many trials until finally it found peace in God. Its value consists in the fact that it gives us an insight into the spiritual character of this illustrious woman.

The next work entitled: *Excerpts from the Diary and Correspondence of the Princess Adelheid von Gallitzin,* gives us part of her diary and correspondence. The Princess was in the habit of noting down her conversation with her friends, as well as the more important events of the day. She also recorded her pious reflections, her spiritual doubts, trials, etc. The editor, S. G. Liesching, selected the more important annotations of the diary and correspondence and edited them. This work should likewise help us in understanding the princess a little better.

The last work to be mentioned appeared under the name: *The Princess Amalie von Gallitzin and Her Friends.* The author, Joseph Galland, informs us that the work of Doctor Katercamp merely stressed the Princess' dealings with only a few friends. It is his purpose to publish those things about her that have never before appeared in print.

The three books mentioned are valuable as sources for a better understanding of the Princess von Gallitzin. We must know something about this illustrious woman who did so much in shaping the life and career of Gallitzin. Hence, anyone wishing to know every possible phase of this pioneer missionary priest must not fail to consult these sources.

Many articles treating of some phase of Gallitzin's life or labors have appeared in our Catholic periodicals. But the most exhaustive and critical contribution so far comes from Doctor Lawrence F. Flick, M.D., L.L.D., of Philadelphia. In the article the writer shows critical judgment and a great amount of information on his subject.

In going through the baptismal record of Gallitzin we find the name of Flick occupying a prominent place. It gives us a clue to Doctor Flick's deep interest in the noted missionary, since his forebears lived in this Catholic settlement. The article under consideration was read before the American Catholic Historical Association meeting at Philadelphia, December 27-29, 1936. The sources Doctor Flick used were mainly the lives of Gallitzin by Brownson and Lemcke. In a few places he also used Heyden's *Life*, as well as articles that appeared in the *American Catholic Historical Researches* and the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*. The article is full of facts and anyone who wants to obtain information about Gallitzin would do well to read this paper by Doctor Flick.

Another article that should not be overlooked in the study of the life and labors of Gallitzin appeared in the *American Catholic Historical Researches* (Philadelphia), IX (1892). In it we find the will of Gallitzin, as well as a brief account of his financial difficulties. It also contains a number of letters that passed between Gallitzin and the Baron De Tuyall, which have reference to his mother's Russian property.

The *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, IV (1893), 1-6, contains an article of interest on our subject. In it there are extracts from a notebook now in the possession of St. Xavier's Academy, Beatty, Pennsylvania, in which Gallitzin noted down his business transactions. It also has a statement of the expenses he incurred when he improved his settlement in order to attract newcomers.

These three articles are some of the more informative ones to be found in the various magazines, although all should be read in order to obtain every possible fact about Gallitzin's life and labors.

Finally, in evaluating the sources for the life and labors of Gallitzin, it is necessary to take into consideration his publications. It is true, they are few in number, but what he wrote ranked with some of the best Catholic apologetical literature up to his time in this country. His literary productions reveal little of his life and labors since all of them are of a controversial nature. But here and there in them he shows some traits of his character and occasionally gives us a glimpse of his manifold activities.

When he began his missionary labors on the frontier, nothing was farther from his mind than that some day he should be compelled to take up his pen in defence of the faith. But a violent attack made on the Church and especially the pope, stirred him into activity. The thorough training he had received in his youth, which made him familiar with the best thinkers and writers, now served him well. He addressed the minister, a certain Reverend Mr. Johnson, who had made the attack, through the Huntingdon *Gazette*, demanding an apology and retraction of this slander. Receiving no reply, he then published several " Letters " in this same paper, explaining the doctrines of the Church, and refuting the charges made by

the minister. These "Letters" were so well received by the public that they were brought out in pamphlet form, going through several editions. Later they were enlarged, and in some respects changed, and published under the title of: *Defence of Catholic Principles in a Letter to a Protestant Clergyman.*

In this work he takes up the charges of superstition and briefly reviews the doctrines of the Church. His summary of the truths of faith is concise and clear. Each point is supported by apt passages from Scripture, brief testimony of the Fathers, references to the Councils, and even the approval and belief of Protestant leaders are employed to give force to his arguments. He also refutes the principal objections brought against the Church.

Almost two years elapsed before the Reverend Mr. Johnson would venture a reply in: *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Reformation.* It turned out to be a futile attempt to prove his previous contentions. The *Vindication* was answered by Gallitzin, but not directly, because of the minister's ungentlemanly language together with the many falsehoods which the latter advanced in order to expose the Catholic cause to the hatred and contempt of the public. Gallitzin addressed his reply to the public at large and entitled it: *An Appeal to the Protestant Public.*

His next work appeared under the title of: *A Letter to a Protestant Friend on the Holy Scriptures.* This was a direct answer to the Reverend Mr. Johnson's *Vindication,* and a sequel to his *Defence of Catholic principles.* The contents treat of the Protestant rule of faith, and explain the attitude of the Church towards the Bible. He goes to some length to prove that the Church did not take away the "key of knowledge" from the people. He further expounds various points, chiefly of discipline and ritual, which experience showed him to be hindrances to those outside the Church.

From now on nothing appeared from his pen for over a decade. But towards the end of his life he again entered the lists in defence of the faith. A Presbyterian synod was held at Columbia, Pennsylvania, towards the close of the year 1833. At this meeting the assembled ministers warned the public against "popery" and bemoaned the rapid progress made by the Church. They next drew up six resolutions to help stem the advance of the Catholic Church. Gallitzin answered this attack in six letters, first published in a newspaper but later printed in pamphlet form under the title: *Six Letters of Advice to the Gentlemen Presbyterian Parsons, who lately met at Columbia, Pa., for the purpose of Declaring War against the Catholic Church.*

The last of his known literary productions is: *The Bible, Truth and Charity.* In this work he disproves the contention of those who raised the alarm of the foreign danger of "papists". By suitable quotations he shows that the Bible taught truth and charity which, he states, were not

observed by the Bible Christians. After reviewing the charges of persecution, cruelty, treachery and disloyalty, he accuses the Bible Christians of trying to establish their own churches.

It is clear Gallitzin's writings are of an apologetical and controversial nature. That he was successful in this field is proven by the many converts who came to him to be instructed and received into the Church. His writings had a wide appeal and, in his time, he was considered one of the most successful defenders of the faith.

In all of Gallitzin's works his profound knowledge and the facility he acquired in the use of the English language are evident. The grasp he possessed of history and the Sacred Scriptures, as well as the constant use he made of quotations from Catholic and non-Catholic sources, is truly remarkable. His writings give evidence of the thorough training he had received in his youth, since in them he constantly manifests his familiarity with the best literature of his day. They likewise reveal that he had at his command authorities and notes which a life-long student might have envied.

His writings influenced many. This is clearly seen from the many conversions they produced and the widespread interest they aroused in the teachings of the Church. So numerous, in fact, were the applications made to him for a more detailed explanation of Catholic doctrine than was contained in his pamphlets that he was forced to place the following notice in the Columbia County *Gazette*:

NOTICE

A certain number of Protestants having manifested great desire of becoming members of the Roman Catholic Church, I hereby acquaint the said Protestants, and the public in General, that I have appointed the second Sunday after Easter (17th April) for admitting them into the Church, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Roman Ritual.

DEMETRIUS A. GALLITZIN,
Parish Priest.

Loretto, March 22, 1825.

His literary work was considered by his contemporaries as outstanding. The following letter sent to him by the Reverend F. P. Kenrick, before the latter's consecration as co-adjutor Bishop of Philadelphia is evidence of this fact.

> . . . I am consoled by the reflection that the diocese (Philadelphia) offers me several learned and zealous co-operators, amongst whom the " Defender of the Faith " holds a conspicious place. I flatter myself, then, that those talents which have been so successfully employed from the pulpit and the press in defence of our holy religion, will continue devoted to the same great ends in the same diocese which has already from them such ad-

vantage, and that your counsels, and prayers, and exertions, will considerably aid me in the discharge of the arduous duties of my station.*

Defense of Catholic Principles, in particular, had a wide circulation. American and Irish bishops and priests maintained that they knew of no book of its kind in the English language which made so many converts. It was translated into German and French, and was widely circulated in England, Ireland, France and Germany, besides being widely distributed here in the United States.

The writings of Gallitzin had a particular appeal for the people of his day. He successfully answered the attacks levelled against the Church and, through his writings, gained the reputation of being one of the chief champions of Catholic truth of his time.

His writings must be studied in order to get a complete picture of the man and his work. While they are primarily controversial, they throw some light upon certain aspects of his life and work not revealed in any other source.

An attempt has here been made to give a critical estimate of the main printed source material for the life and labors of the Reverend Demetrius A. Gallitzin. It readily becomes clear from the sources examined that a critical life of this pioneer missionary still remains to be written. The task will not be an easy one since much that would throw light upon his life and work has been lost. Besides, extensive research would have to be made in order to unearth material that still is hidden away in various archives.

MARK J. LINENBERGER

* Brownson, *op. cit.*, 377.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327. Studies in Anglo-Papal Relations During the Middle Ages, I. By WILLIAM E. LUNT. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1939. Pp. xv, 759. $6.00.)

Students of the middle ages in general and of early English history in particular will welcome this work with unanimity and enthusiasm. It is the result of an exhaustive investigation of documentary material in various repositories in England as well as in the Vatican archives and library that was carried on for several years by competent scholars under the aegis of the Mediaeval Academy. Evidence of the systematic and painstaking effort that has rendered this study possible abounds throughout the large volume. The documentation is thorough and the bibliography complete. Almost invariably the writer has pursued the policy of presenting the evidence and letting it speak for itself. Thus he has very successfully avoided the all too common error in historical circles of drawing conclusions which are not warranted by the premises.

There is, however, an occasional slip in the right use of terms. Thus, "Though the *papacy* was still acknowledged generally as the head of the church . . ." (p. 31) can scarcely be justified by right usage. Again, while "The clergy of the *Anglican* church. . ." (p. 320) may be correctly understood, the use of the term is not very felicitous in view of the common understanding of it in the more restrictive sense after the revolt from Rome in the sixteenth century. Aside from very few such errors, there is indeed little to which the reader can object.

On the other hand, there can be no excuse for a continued misunderstanding of Anglo-Papal relations in the college texts of future writers. Professor Lunt has now made available for the American student ample evidence to enable any reasonable investigator to arrive at a fair and more objective estimate of the vexed problem of financial dealings between England and Rome before the sixteenth century.

Peter's Pence, its origin, development and local administration; the census of exempt and protected monasteries; royal tribute; subsidies; mandatory income taxes; Crusade tenths; obventions and legacies for the Crusades; benefice and associated taxes; miscellaneous papal revenues; procurations for papal envoys, and a final chapter on the collectors, depositaries and bankers involved in the transactions make up the contents

of the book. In addition there are ten appendices which contain a valuable fund of illustrative material.

Probably the most enlightening feature of the work for most readers will be the concluding paragraphs to most of the sections. Here the author usually sums up what happened to the money collected from the particular tax that has been studied. There is a startling sameness in the various résumés. Generally they will be found to run about as follows: "The papacy had borne the brunt of the hostile criticism aroused by the tax. The king had gained credit for aiding his subjects to resist the imposition of the tax, and had acquired also the lion's share of the spoils" (p. 346). In the light of the evidence here presented one gets quite a different picture from that usually prsented as to the actual amount of money that flowed from England to Rome. Historians of the past have been entirely too prone to confuse criticism with cash. Because the papacy got so much of the former it has been concluded that it received an equal amount of the latter. Professor Lunt has effectively exploded this erroneous notion, and thus another pet idea of pre-revolt historians must be relegated to the mediaeval scrap heap.

A good deal of revision will also be in order as to the usual interpretation of the famous *Clericis laicos*. Instead of being a high-handed, blatant assertion of papal political control it now appears in the light of a desperate attempt on the part of a much victimized pope to save the Church from the process of being taxed to death. The royal will might consent to the imposition of some levy on the clergy by ecclesiastical authority or might even bring sufficient pressure to bear on the pope to force him to declare some special tax, but in either event the royal treasury usually got a fair portion of the amount collected. At times this share might be two-thirds (p. 381), on other occasions three-fourths (p. 385), and sometimes all was taken (p. 404). Chroniclers of the age, whether lay or ecclesiastical, have been generous of their censure for the popes, but the true responsibility for their grievances all too often would now appear to lie with another and unsuspected agent.

Further revision of current opinions on Anglo-Papal relations will no doubt be necessary if and when the next volume in this series is forthcoming. Present European difficulties may unhappily postpone (may they not render impossible!) an equally reliable documentary study of the period from 1327 to about 1500. But American scholars in particular, to whom the source material is not readily accessible, will be impatient for the completion of the series. Hence it is to be hoped that the Academy may be able to find the means to push the work to a satisfactory conclusion.

CHARLES E. SCHRADER

University of Detroit

Les Missionnaires français et le Nationalisme. By R. P. PERBAL, O.M.I. (Paris: Librairie de l'Arc. 1939. Pp. 267. 48 Fr.)

The cry is often raised that missionaries who go out to spread the word of Christ also sow the seeds of the virulent nationalism which is the outstanding characteristic of western civilization today. The accusation is a serious one. It would indeed be a tragedy if the Church helped to sow the seeds of the very weed which threatens to choke it. Father Perbal has studied the question carefully and has reached several very comforting conclusions. He has narrowed his study to French missionaries against whom the charge has been sometimes directed.

French missionaries, he has found, are primarily concerned with the protection of native culture and *mores*. When quarrels have arisen between natives and Europeans, the missionaries have taken the part of the natives if their cause was just. They do not encourage political intervention but feel that the state should help the missions by putting religion into the curriculum. There should be no attempt to force infidels to listen, but they should be given the opportunity to do so if they wish. Father Perbal has compared the activities of the French missionaries and American missionaries in Hawaii. He found Protestant missionaries more materialistic and more inclined to force their political and patriotic ideas upon the natives. He has devoted a considerable portion of his volume to the quarrels which ensued in the nineteenth century when the Protestant and Catholic missionaries came into conflict in the Pacific. Much of the material on these difficulties seems, to the reviewer, to be extraneous. Father Perbal does prove the American missionaries to be more materialistic and somewhat nationalistic but it is possible that their conflict with the French missionaries was based upon differences other than nationalistic ones.

It is also regrettable that Father Perbal confined his study of French missionary activity to the period which ante-dated the twentieth century. It is to be hoped that he will continue his work in a future study of French missionary activity in Africa, Indo-China and China in the twentieth century. He has clearly stated the position of the Church on the matter, pointing out that the Church has no quarrel with those who are patriots but that it does draw the line at nationalism. It is true that the missionaries have sometimes been used for nationalistic purposes by governments anxious to extend their power. The murder of missionaries was used by Germany before 1914 as an excuse for the extortion of further concessions from China. The missionary, however, never feels the desire for vengeance. To him, martyrdom is a privilege and an opportunity. It is tragic that national states should use his sacrifice for ends which may defeat his motive. The work of Father Perbal is to be highly recommended for

those who have listened so long to the trite accusations against the French clergy.

JAMES M. EAGAN

College of New Rochelle

The Bishop Jots it Down. By FRANCIS CLEMENT KELLEY. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1939. Pp. vi, 333. $3.00.)

The historians of the Church in America cannot afford to overlook this book by the Bishop of Oklahoma City and Tulsa. In fact it might be recommended as part of a bibliography for several important chapters on Catholicism in the United States. As for its place in general church history one need only refer to the chapters on relation of the Peace Conference of Versailles to the settlement of the Roman Question, in which Bishop Kelley played so distinguished a rôle. Undoubtedly this part of the book will recommend itself especially to readers now absorbed in what is going on in the international sphere. Yet, important as it is, it is but a link in that interesting chain which so intimately connects Bishop Kelley with a number of important contemporary movements both in Church and state.

A native of Prince Edward Island, Bishop Kelley gives a picture of his childhood surroundings as fascinating as any this reviewer has read of this fascinating land. Such men as Bishops Rogers and Gravel, especially the former, to say nothing of the lesser ecclesiastical and civil lights, are not mere figures around which the author has written his life. It is as if he had set out to give the biographies of many of his friends. Then come the chapters on Bishop Kelley's pastorate in the diocese of Detroit and his participation as a chaplain in the Spanish-American War. Meanwhile there emerge from the pages such figures as Mark Hanna, William Jennings Bryan, William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, Archbishop Corrigan, Bishop Bernard McQuaid of Rochester, with all the color which these men lent to the pattern of nineteenth century church and lay life. There are also many interesting and valuable contributions to the history of the American Church, such as, for instance, the reconciliation between Archbishop Ireland and Bishop McQuaid, which followed the stormy controversy over the school question brought about by the Faribault-Stillwater plan, and the beginnings of the Catholic Church Extension Society, founded by Bishop Kelley in 1906. Especially noteworthy is his account of the "divine indiscretion" of his First American Catholic Missionary Congress speech (pp. 127-128).

It is necessary only to mention briefly the chapters on the author's experience with the Extension Society, since he has given this part of his life even more fully in his *Story of Extension,* published in 1922. Nor is it necessary to go deeply into his Mexican activities as outlined in this book but told more fully in his important *Blood Drenched Altars,* published in 1935. It is given but to few men to live such a full and varied life,

and to accomplish such wide and lasting good, as these particular pages on the missions and Mexico so eloquently testify.

Finally, mention should be made of the exquisite style in which Bishop Kelley has presented this partial story of his priestly life. It is to be hoped that he will not deprive the future American Church historian of the account of his activities since he was consecrated bishop in 1924. The Southwest, Mexico, Montezuma, education, social service, these and other activities, are things about which Bishop Kelley should be able to "jot down" a great deal.

The book has a table of contents, an index and as a frontespiece which is a splendid reproduction of a portrait of the author done by Rembski in 1938.

JOSEPH B. CODE

Catholic University of America

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936. Volume IV. *The Mission Era: The Passing of the Missions, 1762-1782.* By Carlos E. Castañeda, Ph.D. (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co. 1939. Pp. xv, 409.)

This fourth volume in the monumental series on Texas history has its justification in the scholarly treatment of a most important phase of colonial history, the passing of the missions. In the previous third volume the function of the missions as colony-builders received a thorough examination. The author now undertakes to explain the final stage of the missions, and in particular to make clear a concept wholly new to many readers. Was the passing of the missions a sign of their futility?

The superficial investigator sees complete failure in the ending of an institution. It does not occur to him that some institutions were designedly temporary, and that their removal indicates rather an advance than a breakdown in colonial policy.

The very nature of a mission, whether taken from the civil or the ecclesiastical point of view, is that its work in the Hispanic scheme is partial, a preparation for stable society. To borrow a simile from the farm it is a plowing of unbroken ground which will in due time support regular agriculture. The policy which dictated the use of missions envisioned a finally complete transplantation of European civilization, a union of the native and continental cultures in a permanent social status and a permanent political commonwealth. The mission was intended to put the raw material into readiness for mature life. This idea, originally stamped on the policy by Charles V, was never abandoned no matter in what field of America it was employed. The mission was formative, progressive toward the ideal whereby the Indian could live, as did the "free men of Castile". This was

the aim of the earliest social experiments in Hispaniola. This was the objective of the great Quiroga and his *hospitales*, although he insisted strongly on a full flowering of the native culture as the first step in the process. The California missions of the early Jesuits and those built by the disciples of Junipero Serra kept the same goal before them. In both Church and state the mission would make the barbarian fit for civilized society and for equal status with the immigrant Spaniard.

The success of a mission, then, may not be measured by its continuance. The quality of its work is decided on the post-mission picture, the smooth adaptation of the Indian to Hispanic society.

Here too one may misjudge the effectiveness of viceregal or religious effort. Certain native groups had reached a high stage of culture before the Europeans came, and among these the missions reaped a splendid reward. Then, too, among the less civilized nations the missionary quite often found excellent natural dispositions and a surrounding environment that enabled him to bring his neophytes to a thorough acceptance of the new order with a minimum of difficulty. On the other hand, as in Texas, the presence of unmanageable hostiles, the Comanches and other border tribes, kept the missions in a constant state of unbalance and made their advancement uncertain and often hazardous. Then there was that other element, the civil administration which might decide on a policy of secularization in undue haste, and as a result all the labor of religion and civilization might vanish in the failure of the secular authorities to maintain peace and order.

The Texas story followed this hard path, a rude native culture, a constant threat of external attack, and an ultimate decision to secularize the missions. The famous Queretaran missionaries were withdrawn to work in other sectors. The San Antonio missions got their notice of impending dissolution. The outcome left central, eastern and northern Texas in a primitive condition, with Nacagdoches the only permanent settlement after 1782. The period was complicated by the accession of Louisiana as a Spanish province, and the consequent removal of a border between the two districts. As the French threat evaporated in 1762, the incentive for intrusion into Texas receded into the background, and the center of northern interest shifted to the movement forward from New Orleans.

In this narrative Dr. Castañeda continues the same high level of scholarship manifested in the previous volumes. Once again he has used an immense documentation. It is, however, proper to point out the absence of the French side of the story, of authorities such as Delanglez on the line of contact with French institutions. The book is handsomely printed, copiously indexed, well balanced in approach and in the division of material. The series has become an indispensable aid to the student of colonial Texas.

W. Eugene Shiels

Loyola University
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Beacon on the Plains. By SISTER MARY PAUL FITZGERALD. (Leavenworth, Kansas: St. Mary's College. 1939. Pp. 297. $3.00.)

The importance of this book is twofold: It gives for the first time a complete account of the history of the Osage Mission established in 1847 in Neosho County, Kansas, and it challenges a certain ideology which has colored Kansas histories, namely, that the state was peopled by anti-slavery crusaders.

In the first instance, the story of the Osage Mission of Kansas is important to the Catholic historian for many reasons. A chapter in that most fascinating yet tragic epic—the crowding of the many Indian tribes out of their original domains, first in the East and then in the Middle West—it gives the picture of that relatively narrow strip of fertile land between the western boundaries of Missouri and Arkansas on the east, and the Rocky Mountains on the West, receiving the dispossessed, who in time were grouped around some fifty-odd missions and schools. Only two of these were Catholic: the Potawatomi and the Osage Missions, both of which developed into Catholic centers, St. Mary's and St. Paul's, respectively, after the removal of the Indians to Oklahoma and the complete and final breakup of the Protestant missions at that time. Sister Mary Paul tells the story of the Osage Mission; it is to be hoped she will do the same for the Potawatomi Mission very soon. Anyone who knows her study of Bishop John Baptist Miège, S.J., (*Historical Records and Studies*, XXIV (1934), 284-326) or who reads *Beacon on the Plains* will want to know the full story of what the Church did for Kansas long before the immigration of the whites from the East.

Valuable, also, is this study for laying the popular misconceptions regarding the motive for the coming of the whites into this particular western state. And although Sister Mary Paul declares that this point is incidental to the main purpose of the book, nevertheless, the implications it contains are more far-reaching than perhaps even she perceives. The Turner theory of the frontier is passing as quickly and surely as did the frontier; but it is only because of the accumulated evidence, such as this book furnishes, that it is disappearing at last. Ignoring the part that the Church played in the very earliest days of America, and in the middle states and far west especially, the Turner theory fits in well with the belief which still finds expression in some popular histories and schools to the effect that that part of Puritanism, decaying in New England, was given new life when transplated to the West; and, secondly, and largely as a result of this metamorphosis, the West became possessed of a fundamental characteristic, essentially Puritan in origin, which developed a distinctive individualism in the pioneers. This book reveals the emptiness of such a claim. It also shows that the New England Aid Company, which was largely responsible for the transfer of New Englanders to the West, was preeminently an economic venture, only slightly influenced by the more lofty

motives usually ascribed to it. And finally, it does violence to the accepted New England origin of the Kansas pioneers and refutes the claim that Kansas was founded for a "cause". Kansas was not a haven for those who opposed slavery or who wished to establish in the West a commonwealth for those of the "pure Faith". The claim of Kansas for distinction may be found not in any lofty spirit motivating the majority of the pioneers, but rather in the fact that Christianity preceded them, as is evidenced by such records as have gone into the making of this book.

This history of the Osage Mission has been written against a background rich in color, of sorrows, trials and disappointments, as well as of accomplishments for the Indian and the Cross. Jesuits and Lorettines, especially, occupy a prominent place. But no one can read these pages without coming into full agreement with its author that the real story of Kansas has yet to be told. The mission, the trading post, the Indian, the agent, and particularly the account of Catholic culture on the frontier, must find a place in the true history of the state.

It is with regret that this reviewer must comment unfavorably on the physical makeup of the book. So important a contribution to American Church history deserves something better than this. However, there are several valuable appendices, an extensive bibliography, a number of illustrations, a table of contents, an index and a map.

JOSEPH B. CODE

Catholic University of America

ANCIENT HISTORY

A Study of History. By ARNOLD TOYNBEE. (London and New York: Oxford University Press. 1939. Volumes IV-VI. Pp. xvi, 656; vi, 712; vi, 633. $23.00.)

After having completed his study of the geneses and growths of civilizations in the first three volumes (reviewed in this journal, Vol. XXI, pp. 314-322) of his monumental work, Professor Toynbee continues his task with an exhaustive investigation of the problem of the breakdown and disintegration of civilizations with which the present three volumes are concerned. In his preface the author informs us that they contain parts IV and V of the thirteen which were set out in the plan of the work, and that part V, as now published, includes much that was originally intended to be treated in parts VI-VIII. Consequently, he hopes to publish all the remaining in one more batch of volumes. He feels that the six volumes already published amount to rather more than two-thirds of the whole work.

One should recall that Professor Toynbee recognizes four abortive civilizations and twenty-six which were born alive. Five of these, however, never developed fully, hence they are called arrested civilizations. He

holds that no less than sixteen out of the twenty-six born alive are now dead and buried. These are the Egyptiac, Andean, Sinic, Minoan, Sumeric, Mayan, Indic, Hittite, Syriac, Hellenic, Babylonic, Mexic, Arabic, and Yucatec, to which must be added two of the arrested civilizations, the Spartan and the Ottoman. Hence there are only ten civilizations actually alive today. Of the three arrested civilizations still alive, two, the Polynesian and the Nomadic, are now in their last agonies, while the Eskimo still drags on its existence. Six of the seven remaining, namely, the Orthodox Christian in the Near East, the offshoot of Orthodox Christendom in Russia, the Islamic, the Hindu, the Far Eastern in China, and its offshoot in Japan, bear marks of having already broken down and gone into disintegration. These are all threatened with annihilation or assimilation by our own western civilization.

The author states that there is still no proof that our western civilization has already gone into decline. He tells us that one of the most conspicuous signs of disintegration is the formation of a universal state, like the Roman Empire into which the Hellenic civilization was gathered before it passed out of existence. Our Western civilization has not yet reached its universal state. However, a universal state is preceded by a 'time of troubles' which usually lasts several centuries. Professor Toynbee avers that the best judges among us would probably unanimously declare that our 'time of troubles' has already begun.

We learn that a civilization breaks down when its creative minority fails in leadership and becomes a mere oppressive dominant minority, thus provoking a secession of the proletariat, divided into the internal, under the heel of the dominant minority, and the external, consisting of barbarians beyond the pale of the declining civilization. The resulting loss of social unity eventually brings about the death of such a civilization.

One must of course seek the causes of breakdowns. The writer does not admit that civilizations die by fate. Neither does he agree with Edward Gibbon that civilizations lose their lives by violence, as the result of crushing attacks from without. The Hellenic civilization did not receive its mortal blow at the hands of the Christians and the barbarians, as Gibbon supposed. Its death was due to long-drawn-out self-destruction. Plainly it was a case of suicide, not murder. After a careful examination of the histories of other civilizations, the author arrives at the conclusion that sixteen broke down through their own acts before any external power dealt them a *coup de grâce*. In two cases only, those of the Hittite and Arabic civilizations, the original breakdown seems to be the work of an alien hand.

Dr. Toynbee finds that the loss of self-determination through loss of harmony is the ultimate criterion of breakdown. It is manifested in the mechanicalness of mimesis, or extreme mechanization of life, and also by the intractibility of old institutions to the touch of new social forces. It

is also revealed by what the author calls the nemesis of creativity, or an inward psychological aberration of formerly successful leaders and creators. This seems to be the most potent cause of breakdown. As a striking example of such an aberration he regards either passive vegetating after success or victory without preparation for new eventualities, or active continuance of a certain course when it is no longer necessary, as the suicidalness of militarism which leads to destruction.

Civilizations do not necessarily proceed through disintegration to dissolution after their breakdown. If that always occurred the problem of disintegration would not exist. Some civilizations, even after having passed through a 'time of troubles' and a universal state and an interregnum, become petrified before disintegrating. As a classic example of a petrified civilization Professor Toynbee names the Egyptian society which, since the sixteenth century B. C. till its obliteration in the fifth century of the Christian era, lived a sort of life-in-death. He contends that the Far Eastern civilization in China has also survived its breakdown in the ninth century of the Christian era by becoming petrified.

The growth of civilizations is characterized by a perpetual variety, while their disintegrations betray a merciless uniformity. Disintegration is not a single act; it is a cumulative and continuous process. The criterion for the process of disintegration of a civilization is division and discord within its own bosom. Such discord manifests itself in the form of social schisms. These may be 'vertical' between geographically segregated communities, and 'horizontal' between geographically intermingled, but socially segregated classes. The 'vertical' schism, or division into a number of parochial states, originates internecine warfare. At any rate it is certain that our western civilization is now being torn by wars of nationality which have superseded the earlier wars of religion.

. It is becoming more and more apparent that the pioneer work of Professor Toynbee is developing into perhaps the most profound and comprehensive historical production of our age. Historians, thinkers, statesmen, and the learned public, all will eagerly await the appearance of the concluding volumes of this inspiring work of truly majestic proportions.

JOHN J. ROLBIECKI

Catholic University of America

Macmillan's History of the Greek and Roman World. Edited by Max Cary, M.A., D.Litt. Reader in Ancient History in the University of London. Seven Volumes. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1939. $4.40 per Volume.)

The appearance of a second extensive work on Greece and Rome, with the *Cambridge Ancient History* so recently completed, gives indication that the study of antiquity is again coming to the forefront. Students of the classics as well as the historian should be gratified by this fact in a

day when the humanities seem to be slowly stifling under the constantly increasing study of the sciences. Especially encouraging in this respect is the semi-popular nature of the work, put out in octavo size, which makes it light and convenient to use, as well as giving it the happy faculty of being within the price range of the average individual. Professor Cary, the general editor, is a professional scholar in the field whom many will recognize through acquaintance with his work on the Hellenistic age. Although in a sense a compilation, each volume of the set is the single work of an individual author, which tends to make for smoothness and ease of presentation. Two of the seven authors are American, five are British. This, coupled with the fact that all of the volumes are printed in England, accounts for the fact that the work has preserved certain British characteristics throughout, which are particularly noticeable in the physical make-up of the volumes. The notes, maps and bibliographies, for example, are for the most part collected at the end of each volume. There are no illustrations in any of the works. The indices are quite satisfactory. Of the seven volumes two are still in preparation. Of the five that have appeared, the reviewer has examined the following four.

Volume III, written by Professor Cary, bears the title, *A History of the Greek World from 323 to 146 B. C.* This is perhaps the most valuable book of the series, as it summarizes the important and extensive labors of many scholars who have interested themselves in this field in recent years but whose work has failed to receive any good general description in English, excepting perhaps in Tarn's *Hellenistic Civilization.* In the process of tracing the involved political history of the period the work has unfortunately become almost labyrinthine in places, although for those well acquainted with the period this offers no difficulties. The book is divided fairly equally into two parts. In the first the political history of the Hellenic world is traced chronologically under geographical divisions. The material presented shows a thorough acquaintance with the field, accuracy and reliability being a keynote throughout. Critical opinions are wholly unbiased in the case of disputed topics. The second part of the book is devoted to the cultural, constitutional and economic aspects of the Hellenistic world. An excellent set of lists and *stemmata* of the Hellenistic dynasties is added after the appendix, which is probably the only thing of its kind to be found in English outside of the *Cambridge Ancient History.* It should prove a handy and useful assistance to advanced students desiring to look up references quickly without time or opportunity for consulting the longer works.

Volume IV, called *A History of the Roman World from 753 to 146 B. C.*, is written by Dr. Howard H. Scullard of the University of London. There are no original contributions in the book, the whole being for the most part a discussion and evaluation of secondary sources. The author's acknowledgment of his great debt to the *Cambridge Ancient History* and De

Sanctis' *Storia dei Romani* is not without reason. One is carried quickly and with ease through a mass of material which too often becomes burdensome and confusing. The story begins with the origin and early history of the city. Both the archaeological theories connected therewith, as well as the legendary and literary material, receive adequate consideration. The facts are stated simply and succinctly, and the reader is left to form his own conclusions. An appendix of some thirty pages treats of ten special topics. A good chronological table, according to the Varronian dating, is a valuable asset. Unfortunately the bibliography is too brief to be useful and the selection of material is not particularly good. There are three excellent maps, the last being a contour map of Italy, locating and designating all of the Roman colonies, Latin colonies and other known towns on the peninsula down to 241 B. C.

The sixth volume of the set, *A History of the Roman World from 146 to 30 B. C.*, by Frank B. Marsh, is one of the two books which are compiled by American professors. The work is primarily designed for the general reader rather than for scholars, as the almost total absence of any attempt to cite source material, or even to indicate the origin of secondary information, indicates. Despite this fact it is well written throughout and leaves the reader with a trustworthy general discussion of a very much disputed period in Roman history. Dr. Marsh seems well acquainted with the field, although professional students will find the work disappointing, as it is extremely sketchy and superficial. Such subjects as the constitutional aspects of the Augustan principate, for example, are summarized with little regard for the merits of controversial questions. The chapter on Roman literature in the last century of the Republic is a further sample of the same type of composition. Anyone who has the least acquaintance with the topic will find that it contains nothing that they have not already heard a hundred times before. The appendices are further in keeping with the general character of the book, and treat of rather elementary topics, such as the chief sources for the history of the later Republic, the political machine in ancient Rome, and the sources for the career of Tiberius Gracchus.

The story of the Roman Empire from Hadrian to the death of Constantine has been prepared by H. M. C. Parker, Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford, under the title *A History of the Roman World from A. D. 138 to 337*. The arrangement of the material follows the orderly scheme of the imperial houses, divided into five sections as follows: The Antonines, the Dynasty of the Severi, the Years of Anarchy, the Restoration of Imperial Unity, Oriental Despotism. The general tone of the work is more dogmatic than any of the other of the series, although it is better annotated and more systematically organized. One feels, however, that the importance of the personality of the emperors is over-stressed at the expense of great movements and important general topics, such as the

break-up of the economic system, moral decadence and the persecution of the early Church. In general, also, too great an emphasis has been placed on relatively unimportant subjects which seem for some reason or other to have attracted the author's fancy. A three hundred page summary of two-hundred years of Roman history should find no space for citing the tombstone inscription of an unimportant emperor (p. 151), while the very significant administrative problem of Diocletian's diocesan innovations has been almost completely overlooked. As the title indicates the volume ends with a discussion on Constantine. This has been well done. The emphasis of the reign has been placed on the important topic of Constantine's relationship to the Church. The author's viewpoints on this disputed problem comprise a consideration of the latest data, and are quite in conformity with Catholic historians. Indeed, it is gratifying to say the least, to hear a non-Catholic professor of Oxford University refer to Silvester I as "the Pope", which he does in several places in the sixth chapter. The bibliography found in this book is more complete and up-to-date than in any of the other volumes, and the whole work bears the mark of greater originality and less reliance upon the larger standard works than do the other works of the set.

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MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages. By FRITZ KERN, University of Bonn. Translated with an Introduction by S. B. Chrimes, University of Glasgow. [Studies in Mediaeval History, edited by G. Barraclough, Volume IV.] (Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1939. Pp. xxxi, 214. 12s. 6d.)

This modest volume is a significant addition to what promises to be a very useful series. In making available to English readers Professor Kern's investigations into early mediaeval kingship and law, Messrs. Barraclough and Chrimes have done a worthy service to scholarship. Probably not since F. W. Maitland issued his edition of Otto Gierke's *Political Theories of the Middle Ages* (1900) has a work of like importance to the constitutional historian been translated from the German. Some reservations are, however, necessary.

Of the two parts of the book, the first (pp. 1-146) supplies an English version of the complete text of Kern's *Gottesgnadentum und Widerstandsrecht im früheren Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1914), but omits the bibliography, most of the footnotes and all of the thirty-eight appendices; the second (pp. 147-205) contains a slightly abridged translation of an article by the same author entitled "Recht und Verfassung im Mittelalter" published in the *Historische Zeitschrift* (1919).

A revised text, a helpful introductory essay by the translator and an index constitute the only advantages of this edition of the *Gottesgnadentum* over the German original; the latter, with its wealth of citations from the sources and its precise references to secondary works, is still indispensable to scholars. Without agreeing with the enthusiastic estimate of Mr. Chrimes that the *Gottesgnadentum* is a "classical exposition in its kind," needing "neither emendation nor expansion" (p. xxix), this reviewer is willing to concede that it represents a remarkable achievement. Many of Professor Kern's conclusions are true and merit the importance he assigns them: such are his insistence that in the early Middle Ages there was no divine right of kings in the sense of legal royal absolutism, that kings were strictly limited by both customary and ecclesiastical law, that subjects possessed the right, and even the duty, of opposing kings who flagrantly violated custom and the fundamental principles of justice, that there was, however, no sovereignty of the people, nor even a sovereignty of the king, but only a sovereignty of law. On the other hand some of the author's statements rest upon such tenuous evidence that they must be rejected; such are his declaration that "royal unction appeared in the West, among the Britons in the sixth century" (p. 34), and his claim that Pope Gregory the Great regarded the consecration of the secular ruler as a "sacrament" (p. 36). In respect to this latter point Dudden (I, ix-x, 191-192) has shown that the *Commentary on the First Book of Kings*, upon which Kern here relies (*Gottesgnadentum*, p. 78, n. 140), does not belong to the authentic works of Gregory. Objection may be made to the use of the term "national Churches" (pp. 53-54, 107) and to the assertion that the "first generations of Cluniac reformers worked under the protection of the State" rather than under the guidance of the Church (p. 107). A valid criticism of the entire treatise is that it is too Hegelian in character (*cf.* esp. pp. 111, 118).

There are fewer defects in Kern's analysis of "law" and "constitution" in the Middle Ages. It is a masterful summary, with accurate definition of terms, and some profound reflections on the disparity between mediaeval and modern legal concepts and practices. To the men of the early Middle Ages all law was "good" because it had its source in God; a "bad" law was an anomaly. How different is the present-day notion that the "State is sovereign; therefore it can even decide how far moral right is to be law" (p. 154). Before the end of the mediaeval period Byzantine influence and the revival of Roman law had led to the rebirth of the idea of positive law and the concept of an all-powerful state. Various devices were employed to limit the authority of the mediaeval ruler beginning with the coronation oath and ending with the representative parliament. Imperfect as was the mediaeval system of self-help against the king, one cannot agree with the author that the modern de-

velopment, tending to deify the state and to divorce ethics from law, marks a distinct advance in the history of mankind.

The translator has done a commendable piece of work, except for a clumsy sentence (p. 3: "Divine Right . . . present.") and the use of coronation "vow" (pp. 75, 81, 82) for the more usual "oath" or "promise." There is a misprint on page 139 and an omission of quotation marks on page 176.

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Mediaeval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter. Edited by Wilhelm R. W. Koehler. Two Volumes. [Harvard-Radcliffe Fine Arts Series.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1939. Pp. xxiv, 320; vi, 408. $25.00.)

Two sumptuous volumes of essays by the foremost authorities in several fields of mediaeval cultural activity, with over five hundred illustrations, a prize in the art of book-making—this is a fitting memorial to a man who honored America and distinguished Harvard by his rare genius—A(rthur) Kingsley Porter! The widow sketches his life in five pages modestly, as he would have had it written. There follows a bibliography of Mr. Porter's writings—eighty-nine items including reviews of major importance and prefaces he was asked to write for the books of others, excluding reprintings and translations of his works into other languages.

Twenty-nine essays pay tribute to the man. Three deal with the general aspects of the Middle Ages, two with early Christian and Byzantine art, the remainder with mediaeval art in Italy (four), Spain and Portugal (six), France (nine), Germany and Switzerland (three), Scandinavia and the British Isles (seven). Of these essays eight or nine have general interest, the others cover so wide a range and are so highly specialized that only a Porter could estimate their value. Necessarily, therefore, we confine ourselves to general remarks. Josef Strzygowski appears in his usual role with forty pages on "Das Irreführende am Begriffe 'Mittelalter'". Somehow we could agree with many of his propositions. Have we become better informed, or he less inclined to go to extremes? Nevertheless Beenken's "Die Mittelstellung der mittelalterlichen Kunst zwischen Antike und Renaissance" proceeds in a vein more to our way of thinking, especially when he says that the Renaissance saw "nichts wiedergeboren oder widererwachsen, es sei denn vielleicht das klassische Latein im Humanistenlatein". And he might have added, that that was the end of Latin. With all their denunciation of the barbarous northern art of the Middle Ages, men of the Renaissance ever and anon looked back upon what they denounced and unconsciously incorporated into the art of the Italian south elements from northern achievement much as the north had centuries before borrowed from the Roman antique.

Edgar Waterman Anthony in "Early Christian Art and the Far East" sustains an earlier conclusion that China had little to do with the formation of Christian art. Far greater was the influence of India. As late as the ninth century a Benedictine monk of San Vincenzo al Volturno in southern Italy painted a Madonna in true Buddhistic style. Kenneth John Conant's reports to the Mediaeval Academy on excavations at Cluny are pointed by his "The Third Church at Cluny". Richard Hamann's "Das Tier in der romanischen Plastik Frankreichs" presents a wealth of data of use to students both of literature and art. A. W. Friend jr. offers almost convincing proof in his "The Canon Tables of the Book of Kells" that the famous manuscript was based on a gospel book, no longer extant, of Carolingian provenience. The essay is profusely illustrated.

Well known names appear in connection with articles of a special nature: Myrtilla Avery, "A Manuscript from Troia: Naples VI B2", Walter W. S. Cook, "A Catalan Wooden Altar from Farrera", Ernest F. De Wald, "A Fragment of a Tenth Century Byzantine Psalter in the Vatican Library", Adolph Goldschmidt, "English Influence on Mediaeval Art on the Continent", Georgiana Goddard King, "Little Romanesque Churches in Portugal", Erwin Panofsky "Reintegration of a Book of Hours executed in the Workshops of the 'Maitre des Grandes Heures de Rohan'", Chandler Post, "The Pedralbes Master", Johnny Roosval, "Une voûte à nervures du xie siècle à Sigtuna". In fine, these memorial volumes are one of the most important contributions to the study of mediaeval culture that has appeared in more than a decade.

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Christopher Columbus—Being the Life of the Very Magnificent Lord Don Cristóbal Colón. By SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1940. Pp. xi, 524. $4.00.)

Fascinating as this volume may be as a piece of polite literature, it is not what the title leads one to expect. It is not a "Life" or biography of "the Very Magnificent Lord Don Cristóbal Colón." Instead the volume represents a largely fanciful and entirely futile attempt to demonstrate that by racial extraction Columbus was a Jew. What there is of it in the way of biography, the portrayal of the navigator as a man is certainly not objective, while the appreciation of his achievement and place in world history is wholly inadequate. Hence as a piece of scientific history the volume has little value and need not be taken seriously.

Madariaga, as already indicated, had a thesis to defend concerning Columbus. This thesis is the *raison d'être* of the book. His defense of it will sustain one's interest and perhaps even elicit one's approval by beauty

of literary style but assuredly not by any soundness of argument or objectivity of approach and procedure. Columbus was racially a Jew, since his ancestors were Spanish converts from Judaism — this is Madariaga's thesis. Not that it is one of his own invention. It is as old as the hills and found advocates long before Madariaga took to it, although no one perhaps ever defended it in so ingenious and serio-comic a manner. And with what result? Well, after all the gymnastic contortions the author went through in his quest for "proofs", the old theory of Columbus's Jewish extraction is exactly where Madariaga's predecessors had left it. Its most recent advocate has not advanced the theory one iota closer to the realm of established facts. Nor does it matter much. No one is going to quarrel over a question which is after all quite unimportant. The racial extraction of Christopher Columbus had nothing whatever to do with his triumphs as navigator and explorer or with the means he employed and the policy he pursued in achieving his triumphs.

There is reason for quarrel, however, on other scores. When an author misconstrues established facts in order to buttress a preconceived theory it is time to take him seriously and sound a warning. An instance of Madariaga's unscientific procedure is found on page 55, in the chapter dealing with the name of the navigator. Here Madariaga insinuates that in Spain it was necessary for Columbus to hide his Jewish extraction, since it was "a time when the Jewish race was passing in Spain through a crisis never equalled in history till the days of Nazi Germany . . . ." Does Madariaga know the historical connotation of the term *converso?* If so, he ought to have told his readers what the term connoted, because in the case of Columbus it is of the utmost importance. Then, does Madariaga think that the Catholic kings of Spain took severe measures against the Jews *indiscriminately* because of their *race?* If so, he lacks even an elementary knowledge of Spanish history, let alone a knowledge sufficient to deal successfully with the knotty Columbus problem. Finally, supposing that Columbus was a Jew *by extraction*, does Madariaga hold that he was a Jew also *by religion?* If so, he is very badly mistaken. Of course, he knows very well, though he suppresses it, that if Columbus was a Jew at all, he was a *converso, i. e.*, a Christian of Jewish extraction, and that, things being in Spain as they were, Columbus had no need at all of hiding his racial extraction. The Catholic kings, as every schoolboy knows, did not proceed against the Jews in Spain because of their race but for other reasons which it was Madariaga's duty to point out if he referred to the matter at all. Of course, such an explanation would not have fitted into his theory. It would have robbed the "proof" of all its force, just as many other of Madariaga's "proofs" are self-destructive by their fanciful distortion of actual facts. There is throughout the volume a tendency to twist and turn things in order to make them answer the definite purpose for which they are adduced. Such writing does harm and deserves

censure. It may be, however, that by proceeding as he does Madariaga really intended to weaken the theory of Columbus's Jewish extraction. If so, he certainly succeeded. *Qui nimis probat, nihil probat*, they say; wherefore the volume is apt to effect just the opposite end.

To judge from the formidable bibliography, the author consulted the oldest and most authentic records. There is room for doubt, however, that he himself studied and estimated their relative value as sources. Among modern works he fails to list Ortega's *La Rábida—Historia documental crítica* (Sevilla, 1925). Had Madariaga consulted the second volume of this four-volume work, a reference at page 118 would have saved him from making the erroneous statement: "No proof has been given that this friar [Juan Pérez] was ever the Queen's confessor" (p. 452). García Fernández ought to be as good an authority on this point as on the one for which Madariaga cites him (pp. 20, 56). And he must have found further "proof" in Fernando's Colón's *Vida y Hechos* and in the *Historia de las Indias* of Las Casas, concerning whose reliability on matters touching the career of Christopher Columbus he seems to entertain no doubts whatever. Failure to include in one's bibliography denotes failure to have read the two highly important works of Rómulo D. Carbia entitled *La nueva historia del descubrimiento de América* (Buenos Aires, 1936) and *La investigación científica y el descubrimiento de América* (Buenos Aires, 1937). These two works cannot be as lightly dismissed as the one under review. As a piece of sound history Madariaga's volume cannot be recommended, and as a work of literary art it must be read with caution.

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Jesuit Thinkers of the Renaissance. Essays presented to John F. McCormick, S.J., by his Students on the Occasion of the Sixty-Fifth Anniversary of his Birth. Edited by Gerard Smith, S.J., Ph.D. (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 1939. Pp. xvii, 254. $3.00.)

The *Festschrift* is becoming more popular among American scholars, and this book is an excellent example of its value. Here are six essays by a select group of Father McCormick's former students, and they do honor to his name. Even though Father McCormick is a philosopher, the essays for the most part are historical in their approach and will appeal to those who are not professionally concerned with philosophy. The book is introduced by a brief account of Father McCormick's academic career, followed by a bibliography of his writings.

The first essay, "Suarez and the Organization of Learning", by Clare C. Riedl, is the longest and the most deeply philosophical study in the collection. After a brief historical account of Suarez's influence in seven-

teenth century philosophical circles, Mrs. Riedl plunges into the problem of the organization of learning or the division of sciences. She demonstrates that he taught that all sciences are not one, as some of his contemporaries maintained, but that metaphysics is the queen of the theoretical sciences. What he would have held concerning experimental science can only be conjectured because he never considered this question. Perhaps he would have held the same doctrine that President Hutchins of the University of Chicago teaches in educational circles.

Victor M. Hamm has written on "Father Dominic Bouhours and Neo-Classical Criticism." This gifted French literary critic was once highly esteemed in France, England and Italy; and many of his canons of literary taste deserve to be resurrected from present-day oblivion.

In "Molina and Human Liberty", Professor Anton C. Pegis endeavors to study the historical background for Molina's doctrine on human liberty. He asserts that St. Thomas formulated his doctrine in opposition to the necessitarian metaphysics of the Arabian philosophers, while Molina also had the necessitarian theology of the sixteenth century Protestants to combat. It would be well if all theologians would consider this historical background in their treatment of this difficult question because it throws much light on the controversy.

Father Cecil H. Chamberlain's essay on "Leonard Lessius" is an enthusiastic introduction to this learned and holy Belgian Jesuit. Many know him as a brilliant theologian and an influential spiritual writer, but here he is revealed also to have had a good grasp on economic principles and the moral laws that should govern economic practices.

"Juan De Mariana", by Dr. G. Kasten Tallmadge, is the most interesting account in the book. It commences with a few facts of Mariana's life, and then considers his writings, chiefly his *De rege et regis institutione*, wherein he defends tyrannicide. His was a stormy career and his doctrine on tyrannicide did not help to calm the winds of criticism.

John O. Riedl has added a study entitled "Bellarmine and the Dignity of Man", in which he proves that Bellarmine taught that man can know from reason the existence of the one true God. The cardinal opposed both fideism and agnosticism; and he was the strong advocate of the efficacy of reason or of what is now called the dignity of man.

The volume concludes with three bibliographies of the following authors already treated—*viz.*, Suarez, Molina and Bellarmine. The bibliographies of Suarez and Bellarmine are rather complete, whereas that of Molina attempts to list only the books used in the preparation of the published article.

These essays are all critical and well written, and they should be in the hands of every scholar interested in the Catholic renaissance of the six-

teenth century. It is to be regretted, however, that the proof-reading was somewhat slipshod and that there is no index.

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Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century: After Cromwell. By EDWARD MACLYSAGHT, M.A. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1939. Pp. vii, 463. $5.00.)

Mr. MacLysaght, a writer in English and Irish, who published his first novel, *The Gael,* some twenty years ago, has more recently turned his talents, with the encouragement of eminent professors at the National University of Ireland, to the more serious field of social history. In this book he has made a valuable contribution, covering the transitional period in Ireland just previous to the almost total eclipse of Irish national life under the inhuman penal laws of the eighteenth century. Presuming in his reader sufficient acquaintance with the religious, political and agrarian circumstances of the period, Mr. MacLysaght confines the scope of his work to the customs, habits and natural characteristics of the ordinary Irishman on the farm and in the town, on the road and at his recreation, and in his attitude towards his new masters.

The subject is complicated by the fact that at that time two distinct peoples lived in Ireland: the native Irish with whom were classed the Normans and the Old English (Catholics all); and the immigrants of later date, the 'planters' of Ulster, the Cromwellian landlords and farmers, and other New English merchants, the rich and influential elements in the towns especially, where they controlled the government. Like Swift and other Englishmen born in Ireland they were not much concerned with the native Irish who lived outside their narrow vision.

Among English writers on Ireland from Geraldus Cambrensis to Spencer, Mr. MacLysaght establishes the tendency to vilify the Irish and to treat them with contempt. And still until quite modern times these hostile and unsympathetic accounts were accepted as authoritative by well-known historians. An instance in point is Temple's *History of the Irish Rebellion,* now recognized as the work of an exceedingly unscrupulous man. The Irish native sources are not numerous, yet with them and the reports of continental travelers and of some comparatively impartial English observers, the author has been able to reconstruct a reliable picture of the times.

The author, from all sources friendly and otherwise, ventures a summary of the general characteristics and traits common to all classes. In morals the ordinary Irishman of that time was a very decent sort of person, perhaps not as virtuous as his decendants who were to pass through the fires of the penal days, but withal a religious and pious person without

great faults. The 'upstart' aristocracy was responsible for the decay in hospitality and education, for the oppression of the poor and the stark materialistic outlook noted by the native authors towards the end of the century.

The great majority of the Irish, of course, were farmers or farm workers. They subsisted from time immemorial upon milk and milk products, supplemented later with potatoes. Deprecating as he must the methods involved, the author remarks the more settled and productive country life which resulted from the complete subjugation of the island.

Town life was alien to the native Irish and it was only gradually that they penetrated into the walled towns first founded by the Scandinavians and later taken over by the English. Yet Galway, and to a large extent Limerick in the seventeenth century, were essentially Irish. Dublin in 1706 had an estimated population of some 60,000; but it was and remained until very modern times an English city. Dutchmen, French Protestants and Quakers with the aid and support of the English government became some of the foremost merchants and bankers in Ireland.

In the final chapter on the clergy well-merited praise is bestowed upon the priests who faced every hardship and danger and oftentimes death to preserve the faith in Ireland. The life and work of the Venerable Archbishop Plunkett are admirably portrayed. The Irish Franciscans at Louvain labored diligently for the revival of the Irish language, the destruction of which in the minds of the oppressors would do great harm to the Catholic Church. The Irish layman in theory at least still possessed some elementary rights in his native land; in practice, however, he was barred from parliament; his religion was banned; he was forced to support a hated alien religion; a Catholic education at home was impossible.

About a third of the volume is given over to hitherto unpublished documents: Co. Kildare in 1683; on Hedges and Fencing; Wild Birds and Animals; Road Repairs. John Dunston's Letters fill some eighty-seven pages. This English bookseller and traveler delighted in extravagant and indelicate stories. Decency would have benefited from a more vigorous pruning of these letters.

The book is well printed by the Talbot Press, Dublin. The index is very good and a very interesting plate of Galway City in 1685 faces the title page. Mr. MacLysaght writes engagingly and this fruit of his labor deserves great commendation. He expresses the hope that some novelist will weave into a popular story his scientific findings and do for the Irish people what Scott did for his countrymen. It seems to the reviewer that Mr. MacLysaght might well do that very thing himself.

MICHAEL J. HYNES

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France Overseas Through the Old Régime, A Study of European Expansion. By HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1939. Pp. xvii, 393. $5.00.)

This volume is both an introduction to Professor Priestley's earlier volume, *France Overseas, A Study of Modern Imperialism*, which told the story of French expansion since 1815, and a study of French expansion in the period prior to 1815, considered as a phenomenon in itself. Like the earlier volume, it is first and foremost a story of European international rivalry; at no time is the struggle between France and her neighbors, especially England and Spain, lost from view. Moreover, the rivalry of France overseas with other European powers is closely integrated with the continental rivalries of the Old Régime. There is perceptible throughout the entire book an attention to all the mainsprings of French expansion. The motives of its promotion are analyzed in each of the periods of greatest activity, and an evaluation of them is made. Some attention is given to the efforts of the French to advance the condition of the peoples within their empire, but the study of their activity in the Old Régime is primarily concerned with the various experiments attempted to make the overseas dependencies profitable for the homeland. The economic motive, predominant in French activity, is described as well as the emphasis placed upon the political importance of colonies by Richelieu and Napoleon. On various occasions, the author recurs to the continuity of French expansion in the old and new régimes. Commenting upon the relative success of all the European empires of the Old Régime, he states: "Politically all the old colonial ventures failed, the new empires of today still exist only by sufferance while the bases of world society are being reorganized." In his conclusion, he quotes Saintoyant's statement: "Any sovereign state which, instead of seeking exclusively to find in its colonial natives collaborators in its economic work, seeks to make of them soldiers for its defense and neophytes for its political parties, is only preparing for troubles and insurrections." Then the author adds: "The colonial story throughout the nineteenth century and first third of the twentieth, shows the sovereign states still groping for solutions of the same problem of dependencies." From these two statements it is clear that Professor Priestley has not written an account which even those people who believe all history begins in 1775 or 1789 may regard as "antiquarian". In still another place he says: "This association of the three essentials, colonies, commerce, and navy, characterize the whole story of French expansion from its beginning to the present."

Aside from his belief in the continuity of French overseas policy, Dr. Priestly has no axe to grind—he has no thesis to defend, nor is his book a mere textbook. In every chapter he examines the various views that have been presented. The whole book is magnificently annotated—occasionally with reference to the *Archives Parlementaires* or to Isambert's

Recueil général des Lois anciennes françaises or to other source collections: Davenport's *Treatise* or P. G. Roy's *Archives de la Province de Quebec*, etc., but primarily reference to the great secondary works by recognized authorities. So true is this that the present volume may be considered of distinct bibliographical value. Not only will the reader find great classics included but also excellent monographs and especially contributions in periodical literature. The range of the author's acquaintance with this is in itself a tribute to his scholarship. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the student of French expansion in the Old Régime might be referred to this volume as the proper guide to any future study. The various views with regard to the economic disintegration of the Carolingian empire are examined and evaluated. The character of the book is further manifested in the author's presentation of the various contentions with regard to whether or not French discoveries and trade preceded that of the Portuguese on the African coast in the fifteenth century. Only in those instances where the evidence is compelling has the author taken sides in various disputes. In regard to the varying evaluation of the colonial work of Napoleon, Professor Priestly gives the view of both schools. In examining the accomplishment of the Old Régime, he has respect for Schefer's attitude, which is laudatory, as well as for Saintoyant's more critical viewpoint.

Two minor criticisms, really insignificant in view of the vast erudition of this volume, may be offered. The governor of New York in 1684 was Dongan, not Dougan. And secondly, while Richelieu certainly "found advantage" in respecting the papal influence in international affairs, it can hardly be said that he complied "with the international law requiring recognition of papal authority." It is true that Portugal and Spain did conform to this authority, which was beneficial to them, but Richelieu certainly went no further than recognizing the spiritual authority of the pope as an aid to imperial development.

GUSTAVE DUMAS

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Mrs. Fitzherbert, a Life Chiefly from Unpublished Sources. By SHANE LESLIE. (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1939. Pp. xxi, 394. 15s.)

Shane Leslie by birth and marriage well connected in England, Ireland and the States obviously enjoys his knowledge of English society and of the activities of peers and gentry in the period of the late Georges. Certainly he has relished writing this story of Marie Fitzherbert, a beautiful and romantic *femme fatale*, who became the publicly unrecognized but canonical wife of Prince George, later George IV of England. In a sense it is not a biography, yet it is more than a collection of materials for a

biography, since in facts and interpretation it leaves little for a future biographer to present. It is fascinating, yet rather disorganized; and it leaves the critical reader without much in the way of footnotes and in a struggle against its kindly and sympathetic partisanship. Still, he has made use of studies of Charles Langdale and William Wilkins, the references in many contemporary memoirs, and all the lady's papers, which escaped burning at the hands of the Duke of Wellington or destruction in the Puritan age of Victoria and even those which have been scissored and censored. And he locates these papers. Thus he has made a contribution to biography and social history. Well may he regret the destruction of a royal correspondence that would have offered the best account of private and public affairs from the American Revolution to the death of the Duke of York.

Who was this gentlewoman who was no mistress nor morganatic wife whose "struggles on the side of respectability outraged a public, upset a political party, and all but imperilled the Throne"? Marie Anne (1756-1837) was the eldest daughter of Walter Smythe of Bambridge in Hants who was of old Catholic royalist stock, and she married in 1775 Edward Weld of Lulworth Castle, where incidentally John Carroll was consecrated first American bishop. Weld died within a year, and three years later his widow married Thomas Fitzherbert of Synnerton in Staffordshire, who too was of an old recusant family. Three years later he died as a result of exertions in the Lord George Gordon riots and left her a respectable jointure. Tired of the seclusion of Catholic gentry-homes and eager for a life in society which her faith denied, she alternated between her town house near Park Lane and her villa at Richmond. She met and attracted the charming Prince of Wales, a first gentleman of Europe in appearance and ability, a *bon vivant* without conventional morals, an associate of Burke, Fox and Sheridan, who like other rich Whigs could voice love of the poor, and something of a reformer who dared show sympathy for Ireland and the distracted Catholic minority. To dodge his solicitations she spent some time on the continent, but returned in 1785 and married the prince to silence his threats of suicide. This she did despite the Settlement Act of 1701 and the Marriage Act of 1772 which George III had demanded in ire at the marriage of his brothers (Gloucester and Cumberland) to ladies with a bar sinister in the immediate background. They were married by a person who was bailed out of Fleet Street debtors' prison and promised a bishopric, and who was as unrequited as the celebrant of the marriage of the Duke of Windsor. The preacher and the witnesses (her brother and uncle) were guilty of a statutory offence, and it was to the interest of all to obey the prince's injunction of secrecy during his life. Apparently, despite the persistent rumors of history, there was no subsequent Catholic marriage, although a non-extant rescript from Rome recognized the canonical legality of the marriage, void in English

law, and her right to cohabit with George even after his legal marriage with and later separation from the victimized Queen Caroline of easy virtue and unhappy fame.

Catholic leaders were puzzled when Mrs. Fitzherbert lived near St. James Square, and even more so when she settled near George's Marine Pavilion at his invented Brighton, where her oratory became a Catholic center and where she and Prince George served well the religious émigrées of the French Revolution. Efforts to break this unusual relationship with politically-supplied mistresses like Actress Crouch and Lady Jersey, daughter of a Church of Ireland bishop, came to naught, until George III arranged a marriage with the Brunswick princess in the hope of a proper heir and the maintenance of the Hanoverian title. George soon returned to the now well-pensioned Mrs. Fitzherbert who was favored by the king and beloved by all his sons, some of whom were rearing an illegitimate brood and living in illegal respectability with interesting women until, in 1818, they were forced into regular marriages of political convenience with the aim of providing heirs which would keep Cumberland's line away from the throne. Mrs. Fitzherbert's salon was well attended even by the unquestioning Duchess de Noailles and Louis Napoleon, and her joy was great when her nephew by marriage, Weld, became a cardinal—he being a widower with children and grandchildren. Like most of the English Catholic aristocrats, Mrs. Fitzherbert despised the Great Dan though she supported Catholic emancipation and was much interested in Irish politics when Minnie Seymour's husband, George Dawson, became an M.P. for Tipperary.

As king in 1820, George was estranged by law and policy. England would have no Catholic mistress any more than consort, as Leslie insists by recalling the famous *bon mot* of Nell Gwyn. In hostility, he signed the Emancipation Act of 1829, which the Dukes of Clarence and Sussex had supported in the Lords. Catholics, but not Mrs. Fitzherbert, could gradually come out of the centuries-old seclusion. Thereafter, she lived in luxurious privacy with her sixteen servants; and she regulated the affairs of her daughter, Minnie Seymour, whose adoption was won in a most interesting case which was forced through a canvassed House of Peers, and of her protégé Marianne Smythe.

Much space is given to Minnie and Marianne; but the rumors that George IV sired both, the one by Lady Seymour and the other by Mrs. Fitzherbert, are left quite unsettled. The Seymours were insistent about their Minnie's paternity, as they maintained that their family had provided queens but never mistresses for England, but they were not without suspicion of Marianne's descent from Mrs. Fitzherbert's brother, Jack Smythe. However, Maryanne, educated as was her adopted mother by the Blue Nuns of Paris, did well enough, and whether the story of her alleged parentage be true, she was canonically legitimate in the eyes of the

Catholic and Anglican Churches. Married to the Hon. Edward Stafford Jerningham, her two sons in succession became Lords Stafford, a title brought out from under attainder in 1825, and which descended to her daughter's heirs by Basil Fitzherbert of Swynnerton. This is the Abélard-Héloïse story of Mrs. Fitzherbert as told by Shane Leslie who has something of the ancient Irish story-teller in him. (*Cf.* Bishop Kelley's tribute in *The Bishop Jots it Down.*)

RICHARD J. PURCELL

Catholic University of America

The Fall of the Russian Monarchy: A Study of the Evidence. By BERNARD PARES. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1939. Pp. 510. $5.00.)

The tragic tale of the life and death of Tsar Nicholas II still awaits its Sophocles or Shakespeare, but here we have a real contribution to the understanding of how and why the great Russian state disintegrated to give place for the erection on its ruins of a more thorough autocracy and despotism than any Russian sovereign has ever exercised.

Professor Pares has a long-standing and intimate knowledge of Russian affairs and a deep sympathy for Russia and its people, and his carefully written book is interesting and easy reading. Yet one cannot help feeling when reading the eloquent pages of this thoroughly documented study that the author is handicapped in any real understanding of Russia by being first an Englishman and second a liberal. He is so thoroughly opposed, for example, to the pro-German sentiment in Russia that his vision is often obscured, and he judges events not from a Russian but an English point of view, which leads him to make such remarks as "Before the Great War the Germans were established in almost all the dominating positions. . . . They openly showed their contempt for Russians and Russian ways" (p. 164) and "Germans are always 'foreigners' there, in a sense in which we (i.e., Englishmen) are not" (p. 160). Such statements are not substantiated by anything but the author's own impressions. As a "Gladstonian liberal" Professor Pares is naturally attracted to the liberals of Russia. But his enthusiasm for those men can hardly be shared by most Russians, since those same liberals proved, unfortunately for their unhappy country, that though they were long on ideas they were extremely short on practice when they had their opportunity to put those ideas into effect after the collapse of the monarchy. The author's active interest in Witte and Stolypin when they display a "liberal" spirit, and his contrasting lack of interest when they display "reactionary" tendencies, detracts somewhat from his able characterization of these two important men. It is perhaps closer to the truth to think of these men as conservatives, bent upon building a great Russia but inexorably opposed to the "great convulsions" which the liberals and revolutionaries desired to provoke and actually did provoke. One of the outstanding figures of the time—Paul Miliukov—is

characterized by the author as bringing into politics "the doctrinaire assuredness of the professor". Perhaps this is also the most important shortcoming of the author himself, who does not see or admit things which to him, as an Englishman and a liberal, are incomprehensible in the Russian scene. His evaluation of Stolypin's land reform—the only measure which if completed could have saved Russia from revolution, and which threatened to take the thunder from the revolutionaries—is far from adequate; and his panegyrics of Kokovtsev, a typical spineless bureaucrat but very pro-ally, are distasteful to any Russian who has lived through that tragic period of Russian history.

There are a few instances in the book where Professor Pares is inaccurate or misleading. He calls Kerensky a labor leader, whereas that second-rate attorney, elevated by the revolution to the position of Russia's chief of state, had always been a member of the Social Revolutionary party but chose to stand election to the Duma as a member of a labor group because his own party was barred from elections by the imperial government. The author identifies Charykov as Russian ambassador at Vienna (p. 171), whereas he was assistant minister of foreign affairs, and throughout his diplomatic career had never held a post in the Austrian capital. He says that Gregory Rasputin "like many peasants had no surname" (p. 134), Rasputin being a nickname, whereas in reality his surname was Novykh. In addition, the book contains a number of *errata* besides the one acknowledged by the publisher in an inserted slip, and many misprints which reveal careless proof-reading.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings, *The Fall of the Russian Monarchy* is not only stimulating and instructive reading for anyone interested in Russia, but will be indispensable to serious students of Russian history, as it surpasses by far in erudition, accuracy and eloquence its two predecessors in the field—*The Fall of the Russian Empire* by Edmund A. Walsh, S.J., and *The End of the Russian Empire* by Michael T. Florinsky.

LEONID I. STRAKHOVSKY

University of Maryland

AMERICAN HISTORY

Despatches and Instructions of Conrad Alexandre Gérard, 1778-1780: Correspondence of the First French Minister to the United States with the Comte de Vergennes. Edited with an Historical Introduction and Notes by John J. Meng. [Historical Documents, Institut Français de Washington.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1939. Pp. 966. $6.00.)

Interest in this nation's beginnings has always been a primary impulse amongst Americans, but in these latter years we have become less content with the position of a listener at the radio, accepting the interpretation

of the announcer, that is to say, of the historian, of what was going on behind the scenes. More and more we have come to desire a more intimate view of that drama which we call the American Revolution, to hear the actual words and observe the tones of the actors as they played their several parts in the drama. For one important phase of the Revolution Dr. Meng's work offers us just such an opportunity.

Time was when our orators, and ofttimes also our narrators, were apt to persuade us that by our own unaided might we defeated the cohorts of Great Britain, political as well as military, and thus won our independence. When, however, we have pried into the exhibits of evidence, we have been driven to the conclusion that it was by no means without other help that we won that contest; that, in truth, but for the aid of France we should have failed. In view of that fact it is of no small importance to have the story of that aid set forth circumstantially and supported by the evidence.

This earlier phase of Franco-American relations during the Revolution presents a threefold aspect: the negotiations in Paris by the American commissioners; the guidance, through the French minister in Philadelphia, of France's policy under the alliance; and that minister's negotiations with Congress in the application of that policy. The first of these phases has been extensively, though not completely, documented in the collections of revolutionary diplomatic correspondence assembled by Sparks and by Wharton; the negotiations between Gérard and Congress have in large measure found record in the *Journals* of Congress; but the correspondence between Vergennes and Gérard has hitherto been available only to a minor degree. In the five-volume work of Henri Doniol (Paris, 1886-1892), for instance, barely one fifth of this correspondence was included. Not only is this correspondence essential to complete the picture from the French point of view, as indicating the propelling motives and purposes behind Gérard's negotiations with Congress, but it develops that the latter's letters cast much revealing light, not elsewhere obtainable, on the proceedings of Congress.

In addition to availing himself of all materials, transcripts and otherwise, to be found on this side of the Atlantic, Dr. Meng has gone to French sources for whatever was pertinent to his undertaking. The documents here presented, occupying approximately 800 pages, cover the period of Gérard's ministry, beginning with his instructions, March 29, 1778, to his departure from America, in September, 1779, with a few additional letters as late as May, 1780. The annotations are copious, but not redundant, affording every needed elucidation, and frequently offering valuable sidelights on men and events. Not content with merely furnishing this valuable and carefully edited series of letters, Dr. Meng has provided an historical introduction, wherein, from a full knowledge of the national forces involved—French, American, British—and with admirable clarity,

he has surveyed the development of French intervention, from the beginnings of secret aid to the Americans to the consummation of the alliance, and through the course of the alliance to the close of Gérard's ministry. Especially valuable is his chapter on Philadelphia diplomacy, being the story of Gérard's mission in Philadelphia and his delicate and difficult tussle with Congress.

It deserves to be noted that Dr. Meng has succeeded in solving the chronological place of a document of special importance for the history of the early stages of French intervention. The proper date of this document, the so-called *Réflexions*, embodying a plan for secret aid to America, has hitherto puzzled historians of the episode.

EDMUND C. BURNETT

Carnegie Institution of Washington

A Diary of the French Revolution by Gouverneur Morris 1752-1816. Minister to France During the Terror. Edited by Beatrix Cary Davenport. Two Volumes. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1939. Pp. xlv, 618, 652. $9.00.)

Gouverneur Morris in 1779 was one of the foremost supporters in the Continental Congress of the Franco-American treaties that had been signed the preceding year. As a young man, vitally interested in the cause of American political independence, he devoted his facile pen to the production of pro-French alliance propaganda which left no doubt as to where his sympathies lay. Later, at a more mature age, he played a leading rôle in framing the federal constitution of the United States. His pen it was that cast the constitution in its final wording. Thus, with a pro-French, republican background, and with practical experience in the art of making government function, he arrived in France at the very beginning of the Revolution which was destined to keep Europe in turmoil for the better part of half a century.

He came to Paris in February, 1789, on a private commercial mission as the representative of Robert Morris, to whom he was in no way related. Elections for the Estates-General were then under way; the fearsome juggernaut of revolution was beginning to move. Before his return to America in 1794, Morris had lived through the Terror as American Minister to the new French Republic, having been appointed to that post by Washington in 1792.

These intimate diaries, beginning with his arrival in Paris, and ending in January, 1793, might be expected to portray with vividness the course of revolution. Perhaps because we expect too much we are disappointed. Events of the time are mirrored, it is true, in these daily notations by an experienced man of affairs, but notable by their absence are the insight, the understanding, and the trenchant comments we might hope for from an observer with Morris' unusual background. It may be that he lost

sight of the woods because the trees were too numerous! In any case, the diary speaks much of commercial negotiations which soon bore the reader because of their comparative insignificance alongside the world-shaking events that we now know were happening at the same moment. Great personages appear, but usually as the leading figures in some petty intrigue of politics or of the heart. Morris himself was not above participating in rather obvious and not always delicate affairs involving the opposite sex. A certain complacency concerning his own attractions for the *beau sexe* is quite apparent.

In all fairness, however, it must be remembered that this is a diary, and that it was not written for general or even limited circulation. The *amour propre* of individuals who write diaries is always fairly strong. The circumstances under which most diaries are penned—and this one was certainly no exception—militate against the long view. Scratched out hurriedly in the tired moments before retiring for the night, or in the hazy moments of early morning before the business of the day has begun, entries in such diaries as this one are bound to manifest a lack of correlation. Emphasis becomes distorted, what is trivial seems important, and even revolution may rumble along its fateful course, the clamor of its progress drowned out by the chattering noises of daily concerns.

The researcher who takes the long view that Morris lost sight of in this diary may indeed feel that what the historical romancer has lost, scholarship has gained. The total picture which emerges from these sometimes brief, sometimes discursive jottings is that of the conduct of a ruling aristocracy faced with disaster, yet failing to realize the full significance or the vast implications of the social movements, trends, and events taking place before its eyes. Viewed in such a light, the publication of this diary is a very real contribution to the study of late eighteenth century social history.

The work of the editor is confined to a brief, and not altogether satisfactory introduction, and to occasional notes identifying individuals mentioned by Morris. The two volumes are adequately indexed.

JOHN J. MENG

Queens College

The Course of American Democratic Thought: An Intellectual History since 1815. By RALPH HENRY GABRIEL. (New York: Ronald Press Co. 1940. Pp. xi, 452. $4.00.)

This is a study of the American secular religion of democracy, "a pattern of ideals providing standards of value with which the accomplishments of realistic democracy may be judged." The pattern contains three basic "doctrines": (1) the doctrine of a fundamental moral order, (2) the doctrine of the free individual, and (3) the doctrine of nationalism or the mission of America. The life of the faith has been due to a balance

of the three doctrines: "When the doctrine of the fundamental law is carried to the extreme, the result is a fatalistic determinism denying individual liberty. Individual liberty, pushed to its logical end, becomes anarchy. Extreme nationalism produces the deadening regimentation of totalitarianism" (p. 418). The maintenance of balance suggests the philosophy of the mean, and the notion that, "within broad limits of an ordered nature, man is master of his destiny." Throughout six time sections Professor Gabriel analyzes ideas with reference to time and place, summarizes the roles of individuals through whom the ideas were translated into a variety of callings, and demonstrates the unity of the whole pattern. The book is very well put together.

There is no space here for any elaborate criticism of the author's concepts. It can be said, however, that while scholars of fifty years from now may find the reasoning somewhat dated, there is no doubt that they will continue to hold in very high regard the many keen estimates of individual characters—particularly those of the novelist Melville, the statesman Calhoun, Mr. Justice Field, and Mr. Justice Holmes. Here is the meat of the book, the most important justification for the attention now being given to our intellectual history. We shall know these figures better for what Mr. Gabriel has done, for we can see them as they themselves might have understood others of their age, knowing their faiths, their weaknesses, and their particular educations.

Catholics should be interested in the chapter, "Democracy and Catholicism in the Middle Period", a study, through the lives of Father Hecker and Orestes Brownson, of the orientation of Catholics to the democratic faith. Brownson was a "product of American religious liberty" who became a Catholic after trying nearly everything else, from Calvinist rigors to Universalist down quilts. He shocked his former associates by declaring finally that "popular liberty can be sustained only by a religion free from popular control, above the people, speaking from above and able to command them,—and such a religion is the Roman Catholic." Brownson was concerned with the task of explaining the inadequacy of a society which rested too confidently upon a base of secular liberty; Isaac T. Hecker was inclined to work from the other end, to show Americans that true liberty was not to be found more surely than through the life within the Church. Both men faced the almost impossible in pre-Civil War America when the "shadow of the Reformation" was still very pronounced, and when the Know-Nothings seemed in a fair way to submerge sectional strife in a general fury against the Catholics. Mr. Gabriel refers to Holden, *The Early Years of Isaac Thomas Hecker (1819-1844)*, but he does not follow this correction of Elliott's "definitive" biography when he mentions Hecker's supposed connection with the Workingmen's Party of New York (p. 59). Reference to the Paulist *Catholic World* as a "daily paper" (p. 63) is also misleading. Schlesinger's recent study of

Brownson is not in the bibliography, but there is a reference to Sargent's *Four Independents*. This is not the very best chapter in Mr. Gabriel's book but it may furnish a start for another work which will consider the entire scope of Catholic influences in American thought or, as church history, the phenomenon of "Americanism".

JOHN T. FARRELL

College of New Rochelle

William Salter: Western Torchbearer. By PHILIP D. JORDAN, Miami University. [Men of America Series. Vol. I.] (Oxford, Ohio: Mississippi Valley Press. 1939. Pp. xii, 273. $3.00.)

Until the beginning of this century Iowa had no native Homers and few others who strummed the historic lyre and sang her sagas. Since then her crop of historical writers has increased rapidly. Of the earlier group there was one man whose name stood out for a time because it was that of a pioneer historian whose works were then prominent mainly because there were few others extant, and that was William Salter. The lustre of his name as an historian has been somewhat dimmed in recent years. To the interested probers in Iowa's past Salter's name is best known today in connection with his historical writings. Yet these works formed only a part of his long-lived activities. And it is of William Salter, the missioner, the Congregationalist preacher and organizer, the New England humanist in the early wilderness of Iowa and in the years of her later and maturer culture, that this very readable biography deals.

In 1828 there had been a group of eleven clergymen from the Yale Divinity School who traveled to the western frontier and came to be known as the Illinois Band. In 1845 there came another contingent, this time ten zealous young missioners from Andover Theological Seminary, and they crossed the Mississippi to establish the outposts of Congregationalism and to become immortalized as the Iowa Band. Of this band the longest-lived and the best known was William Salter, born in New York and, for the greater part, educated there. At Andover the Reverend Ralph Emerson had heard Salter's recitations in ecclesiastical history, and it was in this same school that the young man had learned through the American Home Missionary Society of the great opportunities in the West for stout hearts.

The Puritan ideals which he had brought from New England, Salter clung to, with only a slight mellowing here and there, through all his long years in Iowa. Among them were the ideals of abolitionism, of prohibitionism, and of non-denominationalism. Of the first two the history of that era abounds with many instances; but it is with the third that we are most interested at the moment, because his non-denominationalism was mostly Calvinistic anti-Catholicism. In his early years he was irritated

by the knowledge that Catholic schools in Iowa, organized in many places by Bishop Loras, were instructing Protestant children. Years later when traveling in Germany, he wrote of the unfinished Cologne cathedral that in "purity, richness and grandeur", it surpassed anything he saw in Europe, and then lamented: "What an occasion for grief to see the highest art thus profaned to the support of superstition".

The author deals with Salter's "saddle years" of preaching and then with his many years of cultured pastorship at Burlington; with his work in early schools and libraries of Iowa; with his work in helping to found Grinnell College, a high-ranking Congregational academic center of the west today; with his impacts on the great movements of the nation and on the great personages of Iowa. Without doubt, as the volume clearly shows, William Salter influenced the people of his day, progressively and benevolently for many years: from his arrival in Iowa in 1843 until his death there in 1910.

Father Samuel Mazzuchelli is represented as a contemporary of Salter's. But the brilliant Dominican had left Iowa in the spring of 1843 and Salter arrived in the autumn of that year; their paths never crossed. The volume is a bit padded with a recital of Iowa events and especially of *minutiae* in the history of Burlington which have little direct connection with the biographical theme. This is not said at all as a reflection on the value of the book, for here is a work both well finished and well authenticated. It is a biographical volume which must be consulted by all future students of the religion and culture of the early west, and, particularly, of nineteenth-century Iowa.

MATHIAS M. HOFFMAN

Loras College

Freedom of Thought in the Old South. By CLEMENT EATON. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1940. Pp. xix, 343. $3.00.)

Winner of the $1500 centennial prize offered by the Duke University Press for a scholarly manuscript in the field of social, literary or artistic history of the United States, Dr. Eaton has made a notable contribution to the intellectual history of the old South. His careful documentation attests his acquaintance with the chief printed sources, primary and secondary, as well as his heavy obligations to manuscript materials in private collections, in state and university archives, and in the Library of Congress. A southerner by birth and training, the author traces with a sympathetic and discriminating hand the story of the decline of toleration from the liberalism of the Jeffersonian era to the pragmatism of the generation of Calhoun, when disapproval of the "peculiar institution" was sure to invite recrimination if not suppression.

Not every reader will share Dr. Eaton's enthusiasm for the liberalism of the Enlightenment or agree with him that deism "emancipated" its

devotees from the "shackles of religious orthodoxy" (p. 11). Change in itself does not constitute progress. A liberalism which concerns itself merely with rejection of the old in order to experiment with the new—even for the improvement of society (p. viii)—may be of doubtful rationality. There is such a thing as objective truth. Yet Dr. Eaton, in common with most intellectual and social historians of our day, ignores this assumption fundamental to any valid discussion of toleration, freedom of thought and the like. Error, it is assumed, or heresy, should be accorded the same rights as truth—or what some one thinks is true. Because one tolerates, even loves, the heretic, one must perforce tolerate or ignore the error.

In his endeavor to explore the various phases of intellectual life in the old South, "to measure the strength of opposing currents, to study not only the Southern liberals but also the conservatives" (p. ix), Dr. Eaton discusses the rise of the common man, the temporary vogue of romanticism, freedom of the press, revivalism, education, academic freedom, immigration, nativism as exemplified in the Know-Nothing Party, woman's rights and the "intellectual blockade" or the attempt to quarantine the South from the "isms" of the North. He shows how each of these phases was in turn affected by the all-absorbing issue of the period. In 1790 the tobacco planters had advocated gradual emancipation; by 1860 cotton had become king, and the cotton planters viewed the liberalism of a former generation as a species of radicalism to be rigidly suppressed. To us who are today witnessing another "irrepressible conflict", which threatens to engulf the entire world, Dr. Eaton's well-balanced study of the rise of intolerance in the ante-bellum South is both timely and absorbing.

Although the book is well documented, the scholarly reader will miss the bibliography one naturally looks for in a work of this kind. The pictures of stately homesteads and of leading personages of the South do much to recreate the romantic atmosphere of the land of Dixie.

SISTER M. AUGUSTINA

Mundelein College

The Canadians. The Story of a People. By GEORGE M. WRONG. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1938. Pp. viii, 455. $3.50.)

It is now long past thirty years since the reviewer first entered the buildings of the University of Toronto. He remembers noticing a young-looking man walking briskly down the corridors, and being informed, on enquiry: "That is George M. Wrong, the Professor of History." (In those days he was almost the entire department!) The years have laid no heavy hand on Professor Wrong, and although he may now be honored as the Nestor of Canadian historians, his prototype is rather Ulysses of the endless quest, the tireless energy, the abounding good spirits. His leisure

since he retired from active teaching has been devoted to publications in Canadian history, and this book, presenting the story of the Canadian people in a volume of medium size, may perhaps be regarded as a summary of his message from the field that he has tilled so long. It is explicitly described as "written for the general reader", and there are occasional indications that the general reader in the United States is especially in view. The exclusion of the academic student is emphasized by the information that, although much of the book is based on special researches, in respect thereof "no references to authorities are made".

To say that a work should not be adversely criticized for not being what it does not profess to be has become a *cliché*. Yet the justification for a book review surely is that it estimates the value of the book to the readers of the review. To attempt, therefore, to appraise *The Canadians* from what may be assumed to be the point of view of the majority of readers of the *Catholic Historical Review*, it may be said that it will serve as a brief, clear and very readable summary of the history of Canada, with, however, certain shortcomings or peculiarities.

Out of a total of 436 pages, 194 are devoted to the period prior to the cession of New France in 1760, and 174 to that between 1760 and the confederation of the provinces into the Dominion in 1867, leaving only 68 to tell of the development since that date of a nation spanning half a continent. Nevertheless, the author's lucidity of thought and facility of style result in valuable interpretations to outsiders of some of the prominent and peculiar characteristics of the Canadian people. The work is, historically, conservative: it gives, in general, the well and long accepted, version of Canada's history. The doubts, or the suggestions, of recent scholarship are at times ignored. For example, Britain still retained the western posts after 1783 in an attempt to force the United States to execute the Treaty of Versailles (pp. 237, 244, 252). The dubious theory that the desire of Americans to conquer Canada was the chief cause of the War of 1812 is accepted whole-heartedly (pp. 254, 257, 260).

Attention may be called to several statements that seem unsatisfactory. "Rebellious leader" is a misleading epithet to apply to that very loyal statesman, Henry Grattan (p. 236). The Canada Act of 1791 did not create the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada (p. 246): it only provided for their government. The western limits of the Louisiana Purchase tract were never defined, but it was not seriously contended that they extended to the Pacific coast (p. 257).

Catholicity and Catholics played a vast rôle in the history of Canada. It is obvious that Professor Wrong wishes to be impartial and that, so far as he has a full understanding, he is sympathetic with the Catholic story. Except for the occasional slight turning of a phrase, or placing of an emphasis, the Catholic reader will not be offended by the character of the purely Canadian portion of the narrative. In a few cases second-hand

prejudices seem to appear. Any person who reads the contemporary documents will find it difficult to agree that, from the point of view of today, "full toleration" was granted Catholics either by the Treaty of Paris of 1763 or by the subsequent policy of the British government; or that the Quebec Act gave the Catholic Church a "highly privileged" position (pp. 198, 215, 247). The ignominy of the Abnaki wars, the bitter controversy they aroused, and the contradictory and unsatisfactory character of the sources, would have counselled cautious statement if the author had given full thought to the subject; but we are told that "when Willard, an unarmed Protestant minister, was killed, the barbarity stirred fury in the English" and "the French were aroused when the Jesuit Father Rasle was killed in 1724 while fighting at the side of his Abnaki converts" (pp. 151-2). The Reverend Joseph Willard was, according to New England accounts, surprised by Indian raiders; he had a gun, wounded one of his assailants, and died while manfully defending himself. Father Rasle, again according to New England sources, was killed during a surprise raid by the New Englanders, in a cabin from which he had been firing on the assailants; or, according to the Canadian report, which must have been derived from the Indians, he, making no resistance, was shot down as he came out of his house and died at the foot of the cross in the centre of the village.

In the sketch of the American and European background, to which praiseworthy attention is given, the reader will find rather more of shreds of the Protestant epic, which in the days of our grandfathers was designated "modern history". There is assurance that religious persecution was not a monopoly, but it is persecution of Huguenots in France rather than of Catholics in Ireland that is given the spotlight. It is, indeed, implied that, contrasting with the intolerant exclusiveness of French Canada, the English American colonies were havens of refuge for Irish Catholics (p. 126). It would be interesting to know how many Irish Catholics spontaneously sought freedom in English America — outside of Catholic Maryland, Quaker Pennsylvania and cosmopolitan New York— and, still more, how many attained it except by forfeiture of their faith. In spite of Bolton and the modern school of historians of Latin America, in spite of the concrete evidence of the greatness of Spanish achievement in both colonizing and civilizing, Spain remains the *bête noir* that she was when Motley and Froude were young.

The above caveats are, in large measure, offered in order to assure readers that these minor points need not be overlooked in declaring that *The Canadians* is a work not unworthy of the scholar and gentleman who is its author.

JAMES F. KENNEY

Public Archives of Canada

HISPANIC-AMERICAN HISTORY

France and Latin-American Independence. By WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1939. Pp. xvi, 626. $3.75.)

At a large gathering of American historians last December in the national capital a journalist of international reputation told some hundreds of the historical profession to beware of thinking they possessed the whole picture of a portion of the past because they had read some or even most of its documents. It had to be admitted he was right and, though part of what he said berated historians soundly, these gentlemen were philosophers enough to have taken it and liked it. Professor Robertson in the pages under review has added another monograph to his scientific work in the field of Latin America, and though he may not (nor would his modesty profess to) complete the picture of what went on during the first quarter of the nineteenth century between France, Latin America and the other powers of Europe, he does offer a splendid study, he does shed added light on the diplomatic history of the period.

That Napoleon 'shook the tree' of Latin-American liberty has been for long a part of our common knowledge, but how vigorously he shook it has not before been demonstrated so well by materials that have lain forgotten this century and a quarter in bundles of documents or in the old files of periodicals. Scholars interested in the Caribbean may here expand their knowledge, for additions to our history of corsairs and pirates are picked up in the earlier chapters. We see that old quarrels of the eighteenth century (over Uruguay, for instance) were extended into the nineteenth, while England's coolness towards a 'Holy Alliance' and her opposing intervention receive documentary luster. Those interested in the French on the west coast of the Americas will learn of Baron Portal's instructions to Rear Admiral Jurien de la Gravière. Through his diplomatic activity at this period as foreign minister of France the intelligence of Viscount Chateaubriand and the versatility of his genius become more apparent. Had the hopelessly conservative Ferdinand VII followed some of this philosopher-statesman's suggestions he might have been able to hold so important a portion of his former empire as Mexico. But the backwardness of Spain and the incompetency of the members of the royal family extinguished the light of all possibilities for success. However, it must be admitted that Napoleon's reflection as here recorded was correct, that the independence of Latin America was inevitable.

Fine background is given to the ultimate recognition of the independent colonies. The moves and counter-moves, the speculations, the forestallings, the competitions of the European powers offer in this period the usual tangled skein of high diplomacy. But England favored independence; she was in the lead and her prestige dominates the scene.

Altogether, then, Professer Robertson has given us a specialized diplomatic study of solid merit and value, one whose varied light, streaming

out of documents and files, turns its shafts upon the multiplex activity of nations washed by the Atlantic. A map of Latin America aids toward this study, but the busy reviewer objects to the nuisance of having to cut the pages before tasting of their treasures.

PETER M. DUNNE

University of San Francisco

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The program for the twenty-first annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, to be held at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, December 27-30, 1940, has been announced by the committee, of which the Most Reverend Joseph M. Corrigan, Rector of the Catholic University of America, is chairman, and of which Dr. Martin R. P. McGuire, Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Associate Professor of Greek and Latin at the Catholic University of America, and the Reverend Aloysius K. Ziegler, Associate Professor of Mediaeval Latin Literature and Mediaeval History in the same institution, are vice-chairmen. The subjects and speakers are as follows: "The Kulturkampf and European Diplomacy, 1871-1880," Francis A. Arlinghaus, Ph.D., University of Detroit; "The Pan-Christian Movement," the Reverend Dr. Leonard Bacigalupo, O.F.M., St. Francis Seraphic Seminary, Lowell, Massachusetts; "The Place of the American Hierarchy in the History of American Culture," the Reverend Joseph B. Code, Sc.Hist.D. (Louvain), F.R.Hist.S., The Catholic University of America; "The Jesuit Writers of History," the Reverend Martin P. Harney, S.J., M.A., Boston College; "International Relations at the Close of the Sixth Century," the Reverend Martin J. Higgins, Ph.D., The Catholic University of America; "Jesuit Contributions to Patristic Scholarship in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries," Martin R. P. McGuire, Ph.D., The Catholic University of America; "The American Church as Seen by De Tocqueville and Others," John J. Meng, Ph.D., Queens College, New York; "The Rôle of History in the Hierarchy of Knowledge," the Reverend Gerald B. Phelan, Ph.D., Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto; "Economic Phases of the Gregorian Reform in the Eleventh Century," the Reverend Demetrius B. Zema, S.J., Ph.D. (Cantab.), F.R.Hist.S., "The Teaching of Pope Gelasius I on the Relation of Church and State," the Reverend Aloysius K. Ziegler, S.T.D.

A joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Catholic Historical Association will be held on Sunday afternoon, December 29, at 3 o'clock in Keating Hall, Fordham University. It will be followed by a tea at which the University will be host to all members of historical associations and societies convening jointly at the Hotel Pennsylvania. Two papers will be presented on "The History of the Society of Jesus." Father Raymond J. Corrigan, S.J., will preside.

In the first issue of *Orientalia Christiana periodica* for the current year there is an article from the learned pen of Father Mauricio Gordillo on "Photius et Primatus Romanus." He takes up the question of whether Photius can be considered the author of the work: *Ad eos qui dicunt Romam primum esse thronum*. After giving a new critical edition of this little Greek treatise he refutes the more common opinion that Photius was its author and concludes that the manuscripts do not attribute the work to Photius or any particular author; that the contents of the work do not permit its attribution to Photius; that the work uses documents of the late twelfth and of the thirteenth centuries and hence cannot be of the ninth century; that it was probably composed in the early decades of the thirteenth century.

In the same number Father I. Ortiz de Urbina writes on "Lo sviluppo della Mariologia nella patrologia orientale." He considers authors from St. Ignatius of Antioch to St. John Damascene, St. Germanus of Constantinople, and St. Andrew of Crete in the eighth century.

Joseph Nasrallah describes thirty-two "Manuscrits melkites de Yabroud dans le Qualamoun [Syria]."

Father J. Gill contributes a hagiographical study: "The Life of Stephen the Younger by Stephen the Deacon." By use of parallel columns he shows the borrowings that the Deacon made from the *Vita S. Euthymii*, and how in turn he became a source for other authors.

Besides there are the survey by Father de Jerphanion of Christian and Byzantine archaeology, covering nearly sixty pages, and numerous short articles. Among the latter Father Gill reports on the opinion concerning the validity of Anglican Orders expressed by the Theological Faculty of the University of Athens at the request of the Holy Synod of the Autocephalous Orthodox Church of Greece. Four professors prepared papers showing careful study. Only one reveals profound dislike for the Catholic Church. Speaking of the dogmatic aspect of the Anglican Church one of the papers finds that "a deep chasm is fixed between the Anglican Church and ours, a chasm which all our theologians who have occupied themselves with the Anglican Church have felt. . . ." From the canonical point of view one of the professors holds that the Church can, as she sees fit, recognize the sacraments of any heretic or schismatic, though they are not performed canonically or whose apostolic succession has been broken, or reject them, though canonical or with an unbroken apostolic succession. Two of the others insist on the necessity of apostolic succession and lay down some specifications for conferring the sacrament of Orders. But the three papers agree that by the use of "economy" Anglican Orders can be recognized by the Orthodox Church. After the papers were presented the Holy Synod determined that in a given case where an Anglican cleric joined the Orthodox Church, the Church, after carefully examining the special circumstances, can by "economy" recognize the Orders of such an Anglican.

John M. Barton has some interesting notes concerning recent works on biblical archaeology in the August number of *The Clergy Review*.

Father Peter M. Rinaldi, S.C., has published a sixty-page illustrated pamphlet entitled: *I Saw the Holy Shroud*. The available copy bears an *imprimatur* of January 27, 1940, but the title page of the pamphlet is missing. Other recent articles on the subject of the Holy Shroud are: F. M. Braun, O.P., "Le linceul de Turin, note complémentaire," *Nouvelle revue théologique* (Mar.); Edward A. Wuenschel, C.SS.R., "The Holy Shroud, Present State of the Question," *The Ecclesiastical Review* (June); P. A. Beecher, "The Crucifixion as Told in the Holy Shroud," *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (June).

Continuing his "Bulletin d'histoire ancienne de l'Eglise" appearing in the *Recherches de science religieuse* Père Lebreton takes up "Littérature patristique des IV^{e} et V^{e} siècles" in the April number.

Professor M. L. W. Laistner's valuable paper: "Some Reflections on Latin Historical Writing in the Fifth Century," read at the meeting of the American Historical Association last December, is published in the July number of *Classical Philology*.

In the excellent study, *The Origins of Private Penance in the Western Church*, by the Reverend R. C. Mortimer (Clarendon Press, 1939), the author assembles the evidence for the penitential usage of the Western Church to the time of Gregory the Great. He admits that the results of his study are inconclusive. In general his findings agree with those of Poschmann, *Die abendländische Kirchenbusse im Ausgang des christlichen Altertums*, who admits no proof for the general practice of private sacramental penance in this period. Mortimer's statement that the *conversio*, a profession of devout penitential life by Christian laymen, was initiated with absolution is not substantiated by the canonical and liturgical sources of the period. His distinction between the forms of deathbed penance administered to clergy and laity seems erroneous on the basis of the combined evidence of the *Liber ordinum*, the canons, and contemporary hagiography.

A criticism of this work from the viewpoint of Catholic scholarship in the March number of *Month* by Father J. H. Crehan fails to take into account the important works of Poschmann or the article of Amann, "Pénitence," in the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*. These authors quite disagree with the arguments put forth by Galtier and Karl Adam, whose conclusions are upheld by Crehan.

A recent contribution to the theology of the missions is a little book by Father Van der Mensbrugghe, entitled: *Anakephalaiosis: Thèse fondamentale de missiologie: Essai de synthèse sotériologique*. It treats of the

problem of the salvation of the pagans and endeavors to lay down the real reason for the missions. It bears a *nihil obstat* of 1936 and is published by the author, Cour de Prince 55, Ghent, Belgium.

Last year marked the seventh centenary since the Crown of Thorns was brought to France. In commemoration of the event a charming volume of 125 pages has been issued: *La Couronne d'Epines au royaume de saint Louis*. After a preface by Archbishop Lamy of Sens follow fifteen articles by thirteen distinguished authors, all written with religious and patriotic fervor. Together they weave a lovely tapestry of the history of the Crown of Thorns and how it has been cherished in France. Guy Chastel gives a physical description of the Crown. Jean Guiraud tells how it came into the possession of St. Louis. Four members of the Academy, Louis Bertrand, General Weygand, Louis Madelin, and Georges Goyau, write of St. Louis himself and the Crown as a symbol of his devotion to the Passion of Our Lord. Villeneuve-l'Archevêque and Sens, where the Crown was brought on the way to Paris, are described by F. Bitton and Canon R. Fourrey respectively. Marcel Aubert tells of his beloved Notre Dame de Paris, where the Crown rests today, as it stood in its thirteenth-century newness. Louis Gillet pictures La Sainte Chapelle, built to receive the Crown and other relics of the Passion. M. Vloberg treats of the art of the Passion, and Canon Fourrey of the hymns and antiphons in honor of the Crown. There are a few notes, and the book is profusely and exquisitely illustrated. A medal commemorating the centenary is described by E. Van Moë. The volume is published by Librairie Plon, Paris.

A brilliant piece of criticism and a masterly description of a manuscript are combined in Canon Victor Leroquais' little volume: *Un livre d'heures de Jean Sans Peur, Duc de Bourgogne, 1404-1419* (Georges Andrieux, Expert, 154 Boulevard Malesherbes, Paris). Step by step he points out the marks which show that the manuscript was executed in Flanders and very probably at Ghent. He proves further that the book dates from the end of the 14th or beginning of the 15th century and was prepared for John the Fearless of Burgundy. His description of the miniatures is very keen and lively. Sixteen of these are reproduced in plates. The precious manuscript has only recently been acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale.

To take its place in Canon Laroquais' monumental collection describing mediaeval liturgical manuscripts in French libraries—the breviaries, books of hours, sacramentaries, and pontificals—a catalogue of the psalters has recently been announced.

Father Peter Browe, S.J., who contributed an article on "Die Judengesetzgebung Justinians" to the 1935 volume of the *Analecta Gregoriana* and at an earlier date wrote on "Die Hostienschändungen der Juden im Mittelalter" (*Römische Quartalschrift*, 1926), has two further articles on the treatment of the Jews in the middle ages: "Die Judenbekämpfung im

Mittelalter," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 1938, 197-231, 349-384; and "Die religiöse Duldung der Juden im Mittelalter," *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht*, 1938, 1-76. The articles are thoroughly documented and, with a minimum of comment, confine themselves to presentation of what the sources reveal. In the article appearing in the *ZkTh* Browe treats of official persecutions of the Jews; popular persecutions (beginning in the time of the Crusades); the attitude of the Church toward these popular persecutions; the number of victims (an attempt to control the *Zahlenfreudigkeit* of mediaeval writers); a comparison between Christian and Jewish martyrs. The article in the *Archiv* deals with the limited religious tolerance extended to the Jews up to *c.* 1600, taking up the question as it affected their synogogues, cemeteries, cult, teaching, prayers, and the use of the Talmud. On page 7 a misprint gives the date of the Twelfth Council of Toledo as 611 instead of 681. On page 9 no authority is given for the statement that the Jews gave great help to the Arab conquerors of Spain in revenge for the persecution they had suffered. This assertion, though frequently made by modern writers, seems to lack proof. Browe concludes in both his articles that persecution only confirmed the Jews in adherence to their religion, devotion to the Talmud, and hatred of Christianity. Thus the very opposite of what was sought was achieved through the anti-Jewish measures.

Mr. James Corbett of the University of Notre Dame is the author of a catalogue of the *Manuscrits [alchimiques] des bibliothèques publiques de Paris antérieurs au XVII^e siècle*. It appears as Vol. I of the "Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques latins" published by the Union Académique Internationale (Bruxelles, Secrétariat administratif de L'U.A.I., Palais des Académies, 1939). With meticulous care Corbett describes ninety-seven manuscripts, giving incipits and explicits of the treatises and of their major parts together with information that will help others to identify alchemical recipes. He has added many hitherto unknown names to the list of alchemists. The new catalogue takes its place along with those of Wilson and Singer as an invaluable instrument of research for those who are interested in the history of science. It is to be hoped that publication of the catalogue of alchemical manuscripts in the provincial libraries of France, upon which Corbett has already done a vast amount of work, will not be greatly postponed because of conditions in Europe.

The Guilds—Medieval and Modern is a sixty-four page booklet reprinted from the commencement number of *The Watch Tower* (Marygrove College, Detroit, 1940). The study "was undertaken in the effort to make readily available the facts necessary to a fuller appreciation of the statements of Pius XI in his Encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno*, in which he evaluates precisely the medieval guilds and the causes of their decay, and points out the need of the reestablishment of some form of guild or vocational group"

(p. 1). Eight long columns of bibliography, most of which was used in the preparation of the articles, attest the thoroughness with which the problem was approached. The twenty-six brief but thoughtful articles were written by juniors and seniors of Marygrove College. They show careful direction and are proof of the solid work that can be accomplished at our colleges for women. May they serve as a model for other enterprises of a similar nature.

The Canon Law on Sermon Preaching by Father James McVann, C.S.P. (The Paulist Press, 1940) is a dissertation presented at the Gregorianum. Fifty pages are devoted to the history of legislation on preaching.

Avrahm Yarmolinsky in an article appearing in the June number of the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* describes a sixteenth-century Russian manuscript containing a refutation of Lutheranism by Ivan the Terrible. There is reason to believe that the manuscript, now in private hands in America, is the original presented by the Czar to the Lutheran, Jan Rokyta. The latter had come to Moscow with a Polish embassy and had been invited to a disputation on religion with Ivan. Apparently dissatisfied with his own part in the oral dispute, the sovereign had the manuscript prepared.

Vol. 7 (in 2 parts) of A. Boulenger's *Histoire générale de l'église* (Emmanuel Vitte, Paris and Lyon) covers the period 1517-1648.

The *Nouvelle revue théologique* announces the preparation of an index of the *Revue* for the years 1914-1939. The December, 1939, and April, 1940, numbers are replaced by this index.

According to the Madrid *De Rebus Hispaniae* the number of members of men's religious orders killed by Spanish leftists in the civil war reaches a total of 2,495. This does not include those who died in prison or as a result of mistreatment, nor does it include the diocesan clergy.

Among the more interesting titles of dissertations completed at universities in the United Kingdom, 1939-1940, and listed in *Theses Supplement 8 (1940)* of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* are: Margaret I. Megaw, "Stephen's Relations with the Church with Special Reference to the Influence of St. Bernard and the Cistercians" (M.A., Belfast); D. B. Zema, "The Economic Factors Operative in the Gregorian Reform of the Eleventh Century" (Ph.D., Cambridge); H. S. Offler, "The Emperor Lewis IV and the Curia from 1330-1347" (Ph.D., Cambridge); J. M. Aitken, "The Trial of George Buchanan before the Lisbon Inquisition" (Ph.D., Edinburgh); G. R. Dunstan, "The Parochial Clergy in the Diocese of Exeter during the Century after the Black Death" (M.A., Leeds); D. F. Findlay, "The Fabric Rolls of Exeter Cathedral, 1370-1520" (Ph.D., Leeds); T. W. Lennon, "English Recusancy under

the Early Stewarts" (M.A., Liverpool); Cora J. Ough, "East Anglian Church Architecture in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries" (M.A., London); Rev. W. J. Millor, "A Critical Edition of the Text of the Letters of John of Salisbury" (Ph.D., London); Alice B. Lewis, "Descriptions of the Devil and His Works in Early English Literature" (Ph.D., London); G. G. Willis, "An Analysis, with Commentary, of St. Augustine of Hippo's Treatises on Marriage" (M. A., Manchester); L. W. Kitchen, "The Chapter of Ripon in the Later Middle Ages" (M.A., Manchester); Miss M. G. Hall, "Roger, Bishop of Worcester, 1164-79" (B.Litt., Oxford); Miss M. M. Wade, "The Personal Disputes between Henry III and Simon and Eleanor de Montfort" (B.Litt., Oxford); Miss B. M. Kerr, "Irish Immigration into England, 1798-1838" (B.Litt., Oxford); W. A. Hinnebusch, "Studies in Thirteenth-Century English Dominican History" (D.Phil., Oxford).

The exhibition of printing held at Cambridge University in May had to be discontinued after ten days because of the war. However, the Cambridge University Press has published a catalogue, *The Gutenberg Exhibition of Printing*, of the 500 items displayed. They were chosen to illustrate both the development of printing and its application to human life. The price is one shilling.

Month announces that a list of Father Herbert Thurston's many articles has been prepared and will be printed. The July issue of *Month* contains a hitherto unpublished article by Father Thurston entitled: "Pacts with the Devil."

The Oxford University Press has published a beautiful volume: *Early Spanish Bookbindings, XI-XV Centuries*, by Henry Thomas for the Bibliographical Society. It contains a hundred plates.

The Warburg Institute (London) announces the first volume of the Corpus Platonicum Medii Aevi, edited by Raymond Klibansky. The editor published a small introductory volume last year: *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition during the Middle Ages* (Warburg Institute, $1.00). The first volume of the Plato Latinus to appear is the *Meno* as translated by Henricus Aristippus.

In the June-August number of the *Dublin Historical Record*, Liam Price contributes an article on "The Antiquities and Place Names of South County Dublin." The article is well documented and contains a map of County Dublin south of the Liffey. W. J. Jacob has a genealogical study on "The Dublin Family of Jacob," whose name in not Hebrew but derives from the Welsh *Iago*.

The 303-page *Guide to the Material in the National Archives* describing records received up to December 31, 1939 can be procured from the Super-

intendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. Unbound copies sell at 40 cents; a limited number of bound copies are available at 70 cents. Remittance must be made in advance.

Beginning with no. 1, January-March, 1940, a list of accessions entitled: *National Archives Accessions,* is being issued each quarter to supplement the *Guide.*

The first two volumes of what is entitled The Christendom Series were published in September. The project is under the direction of an editorial committee consisting of Professor Ross Hoffman, of Fordham, chairman; Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes, of Columbia; Professor Herbert C. F. Bell, of Wesleyan; Professor Marshall Baldwin, of New York University; Professor Eugene Byrne, of Columbia; Dr. William M. Agar, also of Columbia, and the Reverend T. Lawrason Riggs, Catholic chaplain at Yale. The central purpose of the committee is to publish an extensive series of small-sized studies, each running to about thirty-thousand words, and each centered upon a subject of decisive importance in the political, social, cultural, and ecclesiastical history of the Christian world. The scope of the series will reach from historical beginnings to modern and contemporary times, and selective emphasis will be laid on subjects which most often lend themselves, in general textbooks, to a misunderstanding of the Catholic Church and its historical life. The first two volumes are: *The Medieval Papacy in Action,* by Marshall Baldwin, and *Catholicism and the Progress of Science,* by William Agar. Editorial and publishing plans envisage the publication of about four additions to the series each year. They are issued by Macmillan and bear not only the imprimatur of the Archbishop of New York, but also the insignia of the National Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, which is adopting them for use in its educational program.

On July 8 the first meeting of the Catholic Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania was held at Mount Mercy College, Pittsburgh. The new society plans to bring to light important data relating to Catholic life of the district since the first Mass was celebrated there 186 years ago. At a meeting held on July 19 the following officers were chosen: president, the Reverend Paul E. Campbell; vice presidents, the Reverend Hugh Wilt, O.S.B. and Paul W. Mulhady; secretary, Elizabeth Daflinger; treasurer, the Reverend William J. Purcell; and archivist, the Reverend John Canova. The business address of the new society is 5323 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh.

The Pittsburg Catholic (July 18 and 25) carried the paper read by Father Canova at the first meeting. He reported on work he has accomplished in filing and indexing the diocesan historical documents and in preparing a list of priests in the district for the years 1739-1930. He has also made great progress in an effort to collect information on parishes. His paper points out the need of gathering material along several other lines.

The founding of this new organization recalls the fact that it was at Pittsburgh that Monsignor Andrew Arnold Lambing founded the first Catholic historical society in the United States in February, 1884—the Ohio Valley Catholic Historical Society.

Mr. Francis P. Burns has been elected to succeed the Reverend John F. Rowan as president of the American Catholic Historical Society.

The Society of the Divine Word in the United States has been divided into three provinces with headquarters at Techny, Illinois; Bay Saint Louis, Mississippi; and Girard, Pennsylvania.

A National Liturgical Week, modeled after the *Semaines Liturgiques* of Belgium, will be held in Chicago, October 21-25. The general theme is "The Living Parish: active and intelligent participation of the laity in the liturgy of the Catholic Church." Father Michael Ducey, O.S.B., 7416 Ridge Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, is the executive secretary of the meeting.

A Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion in their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life was held September 9-11 at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York City.

The Catholic Periodical Index—1939, edited by Laurence A. Leavey of the Department of Library Science, The Catholic University of America, can be obtained from H. W. Wilson Co., New York City, or the Catholic Library Association, Scranton, Pennsylvania.

Richard Xavier Evan gives a bibliography for Kateri Tekakwitha in the July and August numbers of *Le bulletin des recherches historiques*.

The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society has issued an illustrated souvenir booklet explaining the aims and achievements of the Society. It is entitled: *Ohio cherishes her rich historic tradition.*

Apropos of the publication of the Hagelstein Diary by L. W. Cutler (Stanford Language Arts Investigation Bulletin 66) the *Social Justice Review* for July and August speaks of the value of 18th and 19th century diaries as historical sources. With the editor of the diary it urges, as it has frequently done before by word and example, "an interest among young people in discovering and preserving within their own families or communities letters, pictures, newspapers, or documents of similar import for gaining a realistic acquaintance with the backgrounds of our present day American culture."

The June number of the *Grosvenor Library Bulletin* is devoted to a bibliography of "Shaker Literature in the Grosvenor Library" complied by Esther C. Winter.

The University of Southern California has published a thirty-nine page catalogue of The Seeley Wintersmith Mudd Foundation Special Collection in The Hoose Library of Philosophy. Among the possessions of the select library are sixteen mediaeval manuscripts, and a considerable number of incunabula and other rarities.

Malaria and Colonization in the Carolina Low Country, 1526-1696 (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LVIII, number 1) by St. Julien Ravenel Childs contains material on the Spanish missions.

A ninety-one page, well documented paper by Samuel Flagg Bemis, "Early Diplomatic Missions from Buenos Aires to the United States, 1811-1824," appears in Vol. 49 (1940), Part I, of the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*. The same number of the *Proceedings* contains an article by Father Adolphe Cabon entitled, "Un siècle et demi de journalisme en Haïti." Father Cabon, librarian of the Séminaire Saint-Martial at Port-au-Prince, published his study in a Haitian mimeographed magazine in 1919. It has been reprinted because of its importance as a study of early printers of San Domingo, many of whom came to the United States in 1792-1794. There is a third paper entitled: "The Ark and the Dove, Ancestral Ships of Maryland" by Glenn Tilley Morse.

The centenary of the death of General Francisco de Paula Santander, Colombian leader in the wars of independence, is being widely observed this year. The most recent issue of the *Universidad de Antioquia* (No. 38-39, May 1914, Medellín, Colombia) devotes, for example, a good part of its pages to a symposium on the well-known patriot. Among the studies published is a short one by Max. Grillo, "Santander y la Santa Sede" (pp. 195-203), which, though far from being the most important in the series, is nonetheless of especial interest to those concerned with ecclesiastical history.

The *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia*, of Quito, Ecuador, publishes a number of interesting monographs and articles in its issue of January-June 1940 (Vol. XIX, no. 55). These may be listed as follows: "El restablecimiento de la Audiencia de Quito" by Julio Tobar Donoso; "El IV centenario del descubrimiento del Amazonas" by Isaac J. Barrera; "Participación del Departamento del Ecuador en la guerra de la Gran Colombia con el Perú. Años 1828-1829 (Parte Tercera)" by Carlos A. Vivanco; "Estudios de prehistoria ecuatoriana" by José María Le Gouhir, S.J.; "Investigación arqueológica en el Ecuador" by Edwin N. Ferdon, Jr.; "La biografía" by Nicolás Jiménez; and "Santander, el colombiano representativo" by Isaac J. Barrera. In a publication of this nature, it is much to be lamented that the use of adequate critical apparatus has been almost generally avoided.

"Introducción al estudio de Luis Vives" by Louis Carsat figures among the articles appearing in the current issue of the excellent *Revista del Colegio Mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario* of Bogotá, Colombia (Vol. XXVI, May-June 1940, nos. 340-341). The Colegio Mayor is one of the best-known Catholic educational institutions in Colombia.

The third number of the first volume (1940) of the *Revista Municipal*, issued by the Lisbon (Portugal) City Council, has recently appeared. Both the quality of its articles, some of which deal with the early history of the Portuguese capital, and its attractive format are highly to be commended.

Various departments of the City of São Paulo, Brazil, have long been known for their efforts on behalf of a proper appreciation of Brazilian culture. Among such agencies may be singled out the Departamento de Cultura, which publishes the valuable *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, now in its sixth year.

As this issue goes to print Mr. M. R. P. McGuire, Ph.D., Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at the Catholic University of America, and the Reverend Dr. Edwin Ryan, Secretary of the Ibero-American Institute of the Catholic University of America, have just returned from a visit to the more important educational centers of South America.

In the presence of thousands of worshippers a field Mass was celebrated on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul at Zagreb commemorating the 1300th anniversary of Catholicism in Croatia. Similar celebrations occurred in the other Croatian dioceses.

A Solemn Triduum, attended by a vast throng of pilgrims, was celebrated at Killarney in July to mark the 600th anniversary of the coming of the Franciscan Friars to Muckross Abbey. The ruins of the ancient abbey on Loch Lein are well known to tourists.

The 375th anniversary of the founding of the first parish in the United States at St. Augustine was observed with fitting ceremonies, September 7-9.

On April 27, 1840, a Franciscan, Garcia Diego y Moreno, a native of Jalisco, was named the first bishop of Upper and Lower California. This summer during the month of June, celebrations of the centenary began in the five dioceses of the State, which number 1000 priests and about 1,200,000 Catholics. Pope Pius XII sent a special message to the hierarchy in California to commemorate the anniversary.

The Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur are observing the centenary of their coming to their first foundation in the United States. It was commemorated by the eighth triennial convention of the International Federation of Notre Dame de Namur Alumnae held in Washington, August 16-20.

October 22 will mark the 100th anniversary of St. Mary-of-the-Woods College. The centenary year marking the coming of Mother Theodore with five companions from France to establish the Sisters of Providence in the United States was inaugurated on January 23.

Fordham University began the celebration of its centenary in September.

In connection with the American Negro Exposition held at the Coliseum in Chicago to commemorate the diamond jubilee of Emancipation the week of July 28-August 4 was observed as Catholic Week. Archbishop Stritch preached the sermon at a Solemn Pontifical Mass offered in the Coliseum on August 4.

Documents: La conquista de Túnez por Don Juan de Austria según cartas inéditas del mismo (1573). Parte documental. Antonio Rumén de Armas (*Razon y fé*, July-Aug.).—Letter of Frederick Baraga inviting Father Pierz to the American mission (*Social Justice Review*, July-Aug.).—A Letter of Father Martin Kundig [?] on the State of the Church in Wisconsin. Peter Leo Johnson (*Salesianum*, July).—Documenti inediti per la storia della Chiesa di S. Francesco Grande in Milano. Aristide Calderini (*Aevum*, Apr.-Sept.).

BRIEF NOTICES

ANALECTA SACRA TARRACONENSIA, Vol. XII (1936). (Barcelona: Biblioteca Balmes. 1936. Pp. 566.) Volume XII of this valuable series is another important contribution to the history of various aspects of mediaeval civilization in the region of Catalonia. It contains twenty-nine contributions, most of them in Catalan, treating questions of political and religious history, art and literature, philosophy and theology.

It is impossible here to give even the most general idea of the contributions, nearly all of which consist of the study and publication of new documents and texts. Among the most important may be mentioned: Spanish translations of chapters and verses from the Sapiential Books of the Bible and their significance in the philosophic-religious literature of Spain; a project for settling the Western Schism; further data on the reputation of Lull; an *Encyclopedia Lulliana* by an author of Bologna dealing with Lull's combinatory logic; the *Ars Praedicandi* of Eiximens; texts and paintings showing how the legend of the "rapt diabolique" was connected with certain saints; a Catalan version of two pseudo-Augustinian treatises; a study of how devotion to Catalan saints spread to Germany and in what ways it found expression there; an article on the cordial relations of Pope Pius III with John II of Aragon and the pope's attempts to bring peace between Catalonia and John II.

Three of the contributions deserve special notice. The author of "Prudentiana," by suggesting that Prudentius made two trips to Rome, attempts to solve the problem of the chronology of his hymns, and then shows, from internal evidence in certain hymns, that Prudentius was born at Calahorra. The author of "Ramon de Mur, Pintor de Tarragona, Mestre de Sant Jordi," by means of new documents reconstructs the artistic activities of Ramon de Mur during fifteen years, and, by closely studying all available data, arrives at the hypothesis that Ramon de Mur is the anonymous "Mestre de Sant Jordi." The article, "La Inquisición de Valencia, nuevos documentos que ilustran su primera actividad," proves by the study of three trials that the procedure of the mediaeval Inquisition was almost the same as that of the new tribunal under Torquemada, and not, as is generally believed, less severe. The trials show a sincere desire by the inquisitors to follow strictly existing legislation. Practices that today seem cruel are to be attributed not to the inquisitors but to the spirit of the epoch.

The table of contents is faulty. One title is repeated, taking the place of another which does not appear at all. (ALESSANDRO S. CRISAFULLI)

BURTON, KATHERINE. *His Dear Persuasion.* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1940. Pp. ix, 304. $2.50.) This is a popular biography of Mother Elizabeth Ann Seton. Although the author (who edits an attractive woman's page in *The Sign*) draws upon the printed sources, she does not aim to disclose

any fresh documentary or manuscript material. The research work in this field, to which little of an authoritative nature has been added, was undertaken by the Reverend Dr. Joseph B. Code of the Catholic University of America, to whom acknowledgment is made in the Foreword. A revision of this Foreword would substitute Archbishop Kenrick for Henrick, and Mount Saint Mary's for St. Mary's College. Mrs. Burton states that "the Sisters were to take final vows . . ." (p. 234); the archives at Emmitsburg reveal that the Sisters of Charity, from the beginning, followed the constitutions formulated by St. Vincent de Paul: the vows were pronounced for no more than one year. The strict regulation about Holy Communion (p. 197) is to be attributed not to Dubois, but to DuBourg (*cf. The Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Seton* by Father Charles White, 3rd edition, p. 251). The grotto at Mount St. Mary's was situated one quarter of a mile above the church, not below (p. 198). Since the Free State was founded by the Calverts and long retained an English flavor, it is odd to read about the "Frenchified State of Maryland" (p. 207). When William Seton, ill of a nervous fever, returned to his mother's house, he was not "sent home" by "the director of the College," but was restored to Elizabeth Seton, because she wanted to nurse her boy. Throughout her life she had a deep sense of family obligations as well as a Christian evaluation of legitimate affection. The first Solemn Mass in the new chapel for the Sisters at Emmitsburg was celebrated on March 19, not on March 18 (p. 211). The village, not the mountain, was named for Mr. Emmit (p. 273). It is interesting to observe that the National Geographic Society calls the mountain "Mount Saint Mary's". By a curious misprint (p. 301) the collect of the Mass is described as "collet" (p. 301). And the Monocacy, a river twenty-one miles from St. Joseph's, is confused with Toms Creek, which skirts the college grounds (p. 195). These are flaws in an otherwise human, appealing interpretation of Mother Seton. (JOSEPH F. THORNING)

EYRE, EDWARD, General Editor, with Various Contributors. *European Civilization, its Origin and Development.* Volume VII, *The Relations of Europe with Non-European Peoples.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. vi, 1209. $6.50.) A general characterization of this co-operative history was given by the reviewer of the first six volumes (*Catholic Historical Review,* January, 1939). The present volume, which brings the work to a close, likewise lacks inner unity, but it contains a number of interesting essays—several of outstanding importance—on various aspects of the theme indicated in the title. The sections or chapters are as follows: "European Frontier," by Douglas Woodruff, pp. 1-74; "European Contacts with Africa," by A. Hilliard Atteridge, pp. 75-143; "European Geographical Discovery and Expansion," by A. Hilliard Atteridge, pp. 145-250; "Spain in Morocco," by Saturnino Rivera," pp. 251-299; "The French in Africa," by M. Georges Jorré, pp. 301-351; "Italy in Africa," by Giuseppe de'Luigi, pp. 353-373; "Belgium in Africa," by Norbert Laude, pp. 375-434; "Germany's Relations with Africa," by John Thauren, pp. 417-434; "Portugal's Contacts with Africa," by Count de Penha Garcia, pp. 435-464; "Holland in Africa," by A. Hilliard Atteridge, pp. 513-552; "Negro Slavery," by Carter G. Woodson, pp. 553-593; "Europe and the Far East," by Père Charles, pp. 595-811; "Contacts of Europe with the

American Aborigines," by William Christie Macleod, pp. 813-1062; "Australia and New Zealand," by Eris O'Brien, pp. 1063-1161.

To review all these sections in detail would not be possible here. Let it suffice to say that, at a time when intense nationalism makes it very difficult for writers to see beyond their own frontiers except through glasses heavily tinted with nationalistic color, a number of historians singularly free of nationalistic prejudices have been secured as contributors for this volume, and that these historians have dealt accurately and objectively with themes in part delicate and difficult. American readers who are prone to become indignant over European exploitation of Africa and Asia will find much in the sections on "Negro Slavery" and "Contacts of Europe with the American Aborigines" to make them realize that we have ample cause for shame in our own record, and that our Latin American neighbors, whom until quite recently we were wont to regard with feelings of condescension, if not of contempt, have, under the influence of the Catholic Church, treated the Indian and the Negro much more humanely and fairly than we.

The volume is furnished with twenty excellent maps specially prepared by Phyllis Gomme and with a good index. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

FLICK, ELLA MARIE. *The Life of Bishop McDevitt.* (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Co. 1940. Pp. 357. $3.00.) One of the most forceful characters in the American hierarchy was the late Bishop Philip Richard McDevitt, fourth ordinary of the diocese of Harrisburg. Born in Philadelphia and educated there, after his ordination he engaged in pastoral work and later acted as superintendent of schools in his native archdiocese. He was appointed to the see of Harrisburg in 1916 and from that time until his death in 1935 displayed the same great qualities of soul and heart which distinguished him previously as priest and educator. His passing was a distinct loss to the Church in America and especially to Catholic education. But nowhere was his passing felt with deeper sorrow than in the diocese where he had become known as a veritable shepherd, and among the friends who were closely associated with him in his work of education.

It is fortunate that the daughter of one of these friends should present this popular biography, written from various sources. Among Bishop McDevitt's effects, left at the time of his death, was found the beginning of a biography of his friend, Dr. Lawrence F. Flick. It is Dr. Flick's daughter who presents the life-story of Bishop McDevitt. Written in deep reverence, this book is a serviceable index to the life and character of a man who has left a definite impression on the religious and cultural development of this country. It is dedicated to the teaching sisters of America, whom the author calls faithful and true friends of Bishop McDevitt; those who knew Bishop McDevitt realized that in him the American teaching sisterhoods had no greater champion. It contains several illustrations, a table of contents, an index, but curiously enough lacks an *imprimatur* and a *nihil obstat.* (JOSEPH B. CODE)

GARVEY, SISTER MARY PATRICIA, R.S.M. *Saint Augustine: Christian or Neo-Platonist? From his Retreat at Cassiciacum until his Ordination at Hippo.* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 1939. Pp. 267. $2.50.) This well

written Marquette University doctoral dissertation contains a critical history of the problem as indicated in the title, an exposition of the fundamental doctrines of Neo-Platonism and of Christianity, a thorough and well documented analysis of Augustine's early works and a comparison of the thought-content of these works with that of the *Confessions* and the *City of God*, a detailed and solid conclusion, and a good bibliography in which each item is accompanied by critical comment. Sister Patricia could hardly have hoped to add anything really new in a field which has been worked by a number of outstanding Augustinian scholars before her, but she deserves our thanks for having given us such a full and critical discussion of the whole question. Moreover, her book constitutes the first worthwhile study of the problem in detail that has appeared in English. In the bibliography the reviewer noted the omission of A. D. Nock, *Conversion. The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (Oxford, 1933), and the first two volumes in the latest revision of Überweg, *Geschichte der Philosophie*. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

GEYER, B. et JOHANNES ZELLINGER (Eds.). *Florilegium Patristicum, Fasciculus IX: Textus Antenicaeni ad Primatum Romanum spectantes*, Ed. Henricus Vogels. (Bonnae: Hanstein. 1937. Pp. 39. RM 1.60; *Fasciculus XLII: Monumenta de viduis diaconissis virginibusque tractantia.* Collegit notis et prolegomenis instruxit Josephine Mayer. 1938. Pp. 71. RM 3; *Fasciculus XLIII: Passio Sanctorum Perpetuae et Felicitatis Latine et Graece.* Adnotavit Corn. I.M.I. van Beek. 1938. Pp. 63. RM 2.40.) It is a pleasure to note the appearance of new fascicles in this series, which is making available to students and scholars a steadily increasing amount of patristic and mediaeval material edited from the best existing texts and published in a convenient form at a very low price.

Fasciculus IX was brought out in its first edition by Gerhard Rauschen in 1913. The new edition by Heinrich Vogels contains some minor changes but, on the whole, differs very little from the first edition. The notes are sparse and the only index is one of proper names.

Fasciculus XLII is entirely new and is a most valuable addition to the series. Dr. Mayer has brought together all significant texts dealing with the subject indicated in the title and has furnished brief but adequate notes wherever necessary. She has also given a list of the editions of texts employed and a select bibliography. There are two criticisms to be made. In the first place the title does not indicate that the editor, as she explains, however, in her Introduction, is not concerned with *virgines sacratae* in general, but only with those *virgines sacratae* who are to be identified through their work with the *viduae* and the *diaconissae*. In the second place, there are no indices of any kind.

Fasciculus XLIII makes easily accessible that gem among the acts of the martyrs, the *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis*. The present edition is really an *editio minor* based on the *editio maior* published by the same scholar in 1936.

The Greek and Latin texts are more copiously annotated than is usually the case in the fascicles of the *Florilegium*. The linguistic notes indicate that the editor is thoroughly familiar with Christian Greek and Latin and is abreast

of the latest researches in this field. Unfortunately, this fascicle likewise is completely lacking in indices. An *index verborum et locutionum* would be especially helpful. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

GOODYKOONTZ, COLIN BRUMMITT. *Home Missions on the American Frontier.* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1939. Pp. 460. $3.50.) A more correct title of this work would have been *Protestant Home Missions on the American Frontier,* despite the fact that its sub-title indicates the true nature of the book: *With Particular Reference to the American Home Missionary Society.* The outgrowth of a doctoral dissertation prepared at Harvard under the direction of the late Professor Frederick Jackson Turner, it deals with only one phase of American missionary endeavor, namely, the work of Protestants from the east on the western frontier. An attempt is made throughout to study the home missionary movement among the Protestant sects, the Congregationalists and Presbyterians especially, in its relation to contemporary political and economic conditions. Here and there Catholic pioneer activity is touched upon, and sympathetically, too. However, it is disappointing to see the word "Romanist" used when undoubtedly the author did not intend anything disparaging to enter into his text. But all in all, the work is valuable for reference to anyone interested in the part religion played on the American frontier. There is a table of contents, a splendid bibliography and an index. (JOSEPH B. CODE)

GRAGG, FLORENCE ALDEN (Translator). *The Commentaries of Pius II.* Historical Introduction and Notes by Leona C. Gabel. (Northampton, Massachusetts: *Smith College Studies in History.* Vol. XXII, Nos. 1-2. October, 1936–January, 1937. Pp. 114. $1.50.) The *Commentaries* of Aeneas Sylvius, Pope Pius II, suffer from defects in style and accuracy, but in spite of this they remain a vivid and precious source for the life of this pope and of his age. The best available printed edition of the Latin text was printed at Frankfort in 1614. This edition, however, is faulty and incomplete. Hence the editors have wisely decided to use as the basis of their translation the Latin text found in *Codex Vaticanus Reginiensis 1995,* discovered by Pastor in the eighties of the last century and written in part by Aeneas himself. The present work contains a translation of Book I of the *Commentaries,* covering Aeneas' career up to his election to the papacy. By the use of italics and lettered notes, the considerable divergences between *Reginiensis 1995* and the Frankfort text of 1614 are clearly indicated. The translation reads smoothly and the historical introduction and notes are brief but adequate. There is a bibliography (select) and an index of proper names. It is to be hoped that the editors will soon give us the rest of the translation and especially a new edition of the Latin text based on the Vatican Ms. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

HOCKETT, HOMER C. *The Constitutional History of the United States 1826-1876.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. xii, 405. $3.00.) This is the second volume in the series which Professor Hockett is preparing. The fifty years of constitutional history from 1826 to 1876 are summed up by the subtitle, "A More Perfect Union". While the author is aware of the irony of

that title, it cannot be denied that the controversies on the nature of the Union and the slavery controversy in particular were solved in terms of the basic law, if withal by extra-legal and forceful means. The constitution was construed according to the terms of the victors, and yet it was in virtue of a certain constitutional construction that the war was fought.

Two-thirds of the present volume is devoted to the issues of slavery and reconstruction. And yet, as Professor Hockett points out, other developments in this "middle period" have had perhaps a more profound effect on our constitutional system: the democratization of the federal government, the rise of capitalistic industry, the appearance of corporations, and territorial expansion. After the slavery issue, the question which bore most principally on the nature of the Union was that of the nature and extent of the commerce power. In this matter, the way in which the basic principles of Marshall fared under Taney's court deserves sharpened emphasis. All are agreed today that Taney upheld the prerogatives of the court as completely as Marshall had done, and that the decisions of his court reflect the beginnings of a new social economy. But it may be questioned whether the court's abandonment of Marshall's distinction between power over commerce as a police power and as a concurrent power was a wise departure. The course of constitutional history after 1876 will be more critically determined by this change than it will be affected by the settlement of the slavery controversy. It will be largely in terms of this basic problem of constitutional construction that the coming third volume of Professor Hockett's series will have to establish its link with past history; for had the police power received full recognition by the court at this time there is some likelihood that the fourteenth amendment would not have proved so formidable an obstacle to state legislation in behalf of the public welfare. (CHARLES N. R. MCCOY)

JONES, TOM B. *An Introduction to Hispanic American History.* (New York: Harper and Bros. 1939. Pp. xii, 577. $3.50.) The rising interest in the history and life of the Hispanic American states has been productive of a plethora of works on various aspects of the subject. The author declares in his preface that this book is intended merely as an *introduction* to the field, as a stimulus to further study and investigation of the evolution and institutions of the Hispanic American peoples. It is difficult to see, however, what progress has been made, except in occasional deviation, in this or other texts that have preceded it.

This work follows the general pattern for the presentation of the material. There is, nevertheless, more emphasis on the twentieth century than in most of the standard texts. It must be pointed out, however, that in an introductory work it would seem advisable to give sufficient bibliographical references to allow the student to come to grips with the subject if he is so disposed. The bibliographies at the end of each chapter are extremely limited, usually to a handful of English titles, some of them very much out of date. There are no indications of even the most important non-English books.

The very brevity of the text makes impossible an adequate treatment of numerous important subjects. The material on the Church is extremely sketchy, so much so in fact as to give scarcely an idea of its rôle in Hispanic

American affairs. The treatment of party politics—about which so little can be generalized—is equally superficial. Numerous statements are open to serious question, as, for example, the analysis of the régime of Gabriel García Moreno in Ecuador (p. 366) and Benito Juárez (p. 379). In the space available, it is manifestly impossible to do justice to the complex combination of factors at work in these twenty republics. It is a source of wonderment at times how even as readable a text as this can cover the ground in less than six hundred pages. (RICHARD PATTEE)

Jubilee Law Lectures. By Roscoe Pound, Daniel J. Lyne, Grenville Clark, Hector David Castro, and John J. Burns. (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press. 1939. Pp. 182. $2.50.) This collection of lectures constitutes a permanent record of the contribution made by the School of Law to the jubilee program marking the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Catholic University of America. After a prefatory statement by the Very Reverend Dr. Robert J. White, Dean of the School of Law, we find that the lectures are divided between two main themes. The first is "The Church in Legal History," and the second "The Function of Law in Society Today." The former was treated exclusively by Roscoe Pound, sometime dean of the Harvard Law School and a scholar of international fame. The latter was treated by Messrs. Lyne, Clark, Castro and Burns from the point of view of The Future of the Common Law, Law and Civil Liberty, Natural Law and Positive Law, and Law and Ethics, respectively.

One may hope that these lectures, particularly those contributed by Mr. Pound which direct attention to the influence of the Church on modern legal institutions, may rescue many contemporary thinkers and the lecturer's brethren of the Bar in particular from a too common misconception of history. For an example of one still laboring under and propagating the "dark age" myth, *cf.* Smith, "Totalitarianism and Administrative Absolutism," *John Marshall Law Quarterly*, V, 210-211 (1939). It is the same misconception from which Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University attempted to rescue philosophers when the latter observed in a lecture on philosophy as long ago as March, 1908, "the very use of the name Middle Ages to describe a group of ten centuries is sufficient evidence that those centuries are neither understood nor appreciated. . . . To suppose that such an age as this can be properly described as dark is only to invite attention to the limitations of one's own knowledge and sympathy."

The School of Law of the Catholic University of America is to be commended for having preserved this notable lecture series in book form. Those who know Pound and are aware of his scholarly attainments will realize that no odious comparison is implied when we describe his contribution to the series as the keystone of the arch that is to stand as the permanent recorded memorial of the School of Law to the fiftieth birthday of the University. (JAMES THOMAS CONNOR)

KIERNAN, E. V. G. *British Diplomacy in China, 1880-1885.* (London: Cambridge University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. xi, 327. $4.50.) As early as 1876 Russia was attempting to secure control over Sinkiang, which

led to Russo-Chinese hostility and Anglo-Russian rivalry. Russian control of Sinkiang has always been regarded as a menace to the British in India. French efforts to penetrate into southeastern China from Indo-China resulted in an armed conflict with China,—the so-called Tonking Incident of 1882. This had its repercussions in Anglo-French relations. As early as 1884 France showed unmistakable intentions of occupying Formosa, Hainan and Fushan. While Russian efforts to penetrate into Korea led Britain, with secret approval of the Chinese foreign office, to occupy Port Hamilton in 1885, Germany was in favor of securing some permanent foothold in China through territorial concessions. During this juncture in 1885, Japan made a definite offer to China for a Sino-Japanese alliance, to uphold and maintain their territorial integrity from the aggression of western powers. But the Chinese government, led by the advice of Li Hung Chang, politely rejected Japanese offers, because China was striving for an Anglo-Chinese agreement, which was favorably considered by the British public. In fact some British diplomats felt that an Anglo-Chinese alliance (even an Anglo-Chinese and Japanese alliance) would be an effective means to check Franco-Russian expansion in eastern Asia. However, the British government was not anxious to assume any responsibility in aiding China against France and Russia and the hoped-for alliance did not materialize. After China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, Britain left China to her fate. This led Li Hung Chang to court Russian support against Japan. To counteract Russian expansion Britain and Japan agreed to conclude the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902.

Basing his research upon British Foreign Office documents and other reliable materials, Mr. Kiernan has given us the most authentic version of the momentous events which adversely affected China's interests during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, especially during the years 1880-1885. The author conclusively proves that none of the western powers wished to strengthen China's position, because a strong China might have made an attempt to check their ambitious program of dividing China into various spheres of interest. This book is a valuable contribution to the foreign relations of China, as influenced by world politics dominated by imperialist powers, especially by British diplomacy. (TARAKNATH DAS)

MASON, MARY GERTRUDE. *Western Concepts of China and the Chinese (1840-1876)*. (Durham, North Carolina: *Seeman Printery*. 1939. Pp. xv, 288. $2.00.) This volume contains twelve chapters and an index, together with a supplementary index of authors. Any one acquainted with the western press, whether magazines or periodicals or the occasional publications of the special study assocations of Europe and America, knows that most of the contributors—if they really know anything of China, except that which is disclosed in the treaty ports or in Peking, not one in a hundred can read or write the Chinese language. Thus their material is hearsay conversation or obtained from existing books and pamphlets. Indeed, outside a few of the more serious-minded missionaries, the reading and writing of Chinese is confined to the slender political staff to be found in the embassies or the officials of foreign governments resident on consular positions.

It is difficult to understand why the year 1840 was chosen. The opium trouble had been in existence for years before 1840, though the actual fighting of the first Anglo-Chinese War began in that year; while the year 1876 in China was chiefly famous from a western point of view, because on June 30 the first railroad in China from Shanghai to Woosung was opened for traffic. There does not seem to have been in the years 1840-1876 any remarkable changes in Chinese family life, or in the conduct of the government, because China herself was busy suppressing slowly but successfully the Taiping rebellion, during some fifteen years of the period suggested.

This volume is in the nature of a preliminary issue of some bigger plan to produce a real constitutional and social history of China from the commencement of the decline of the Manchu dynasty in China to the collapse in 1911-12. The author says in her foreword: "The more important periodicals were investigated"; and then again "State papers for the entire period were not examined, but Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates* were an important source for the opinions of Statesmen on the opium question." On searching the index, one fails to find any mention of the *Edinburgh Review, The Quarterly Review,* the *Contemporary* or *Nineteenth Century Magazine, Le Journal des Débats;* the *Zeitschrift für Politik; The Living Age;* the *Congressional Record,* or the *Messages of American Presidents.* Yet the author includes a paragraph concerning the *Journals of the Californian Legislature,* which seems out of place when the *Congressional Record* and the *Foreign Relations* of the United States do not come up for comment. This is all the more peculiar, seeing that Californian opinion of Asiatics, while no doubt of interest locally, does not reach such a degree of importance as to be classed as "an insight into the American attitude towards Chinese immigrants" (foreword). (BOYD-CARPENTER)

MERTENS, P. X., S.J. *The Yellow River Runs Red.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1939. Pp. xv, 181. $1.75.) This volume is a translation from the French edition published by Spes of Paris. It contains eight chapters, an index and a preface which is accompanied by a foreword. The book is the work of a Jesuit missionary, in which the records of the deaths of Chinese Christians can be read and considered from several points of view. Generally, the records were composed from the evidence of eye-witnesss or friends of the Chinese Christians who had been killed. The fact emerges that the same magnificent fortitude was displayed in these terrible scenes in China during the Boxer uprising as was true in the days of the Roman persecutions. In both cases the converts remained loyal to their faith. The description of how the evidence was obtained and recorded is absorbingly interesting, especially in such cases as that of the martyrs of Chu-Kia-Ho and of Anne Wang, and when read will be many times recalled as remarkable cases of courage and love of faith, and the understanding of what duty to God really means.

It is interesting to read that on October 3, 1930, the feast of St. Teresa of Lisieux, 359 sealed envelopes, packed in a suitable box, were dispatched to Rome, each envelope containing the recorded evidence of an actual martyrdom or a series of martyrdoms. These, it is understood, are being carefully examined in Rome to ascertain whether the evidence and the record are of

such a character as to warrant the conclusion that China has produced martyrs who may be considered as compelling in sanctity and character as those on whom the Church has already bestowed beatification; perhaps, the richness of the Catholic records may some day find Chinese cases of martyrdom suitable to be considered worthy to have their Masses placed beside those of St. Agnes, St. Sebastian, and St. Lucy.

This volume should be in the libraries of schools and colleges so that many can read what have been the trials and tribulations of those who during the Boxer troubles paid the supreme sacrifice willingly in an age often spoken of somewhat slightingly as materialistic and selfish. (BOYD-CARPENTER)

POWELL, J. ENOCH. *The History of Herodotus.* [Cambridge Classical Studies IV.] (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. 96. $2.00.) In this monograph Professor Powell, who in the preparation of his recently published lexicon of Herodotus acquired a unique familiarity with his author, attempts to do for him "what Edward Schwartz did for another Greek historian in his brilliant *Geschichtswerk des Thukydides.*" After an exhaustive analysis of all possible evidence—and the chief evidence has to be furnished by Herodotus himself, Professor Powell comes to the conclusion that Bks. I–III (in original form) and Bk. IV, 145-205, were written in 447/4; Bk. IV, 1-144 and Bk. V, 1-10, in 444; Bks. I–III (in present form) and Bks. V, 11 – IX, in 430/28, all at Athens.

It is not likely that other specialists in Herodotean studies will share Professor Powell's confidence in the almost mathematical certainty of his results—especially since he does not conceive too high an opinion of his predecessors on the compositional analysis of Herodotus except Adolf Kirchhoff. However, one must reckon seriously with the carefully presented views of a scholar who has such a complete mastery of his author. The book is furnished with a short bibliography, a table of cross-references, and indices of passages and proper names. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

RAPISARDA, EMANUELE (Ed.). *Teofilo di Antiochia.* (Torino: Società Eitrice Internazionale. 1937. Pp. cxxvi, 155.) The present work contains an Italian translation of Theophilus of Antioch with a long literary and historical introduction and notes. The editor, who has already published studies on Theophilus, states in his preface that he has worked in the spirit of the late Professor Paolo Ubaldi. That is, he has tried to make his study a worthy contribution to Italian Catholic scholarship in the patristic field.

The introduction comprises a critical biography of Theophilus, an analysis of Theophilus as a polemist, a discussion of Theophilus' originality—the editor maintains that he is more original than most scholars admit—an account of Theophilus as a writer, a description of the MSS., editions, and translations of Theophilus, and a detailed outline of the *Ad Autolycum.* Then comes the Italian translation of the *Ad Autolycum* and of the fragments of several other works ascribed to Theophilus accompanied by copious notes in Italian. Following the translation, the editor has presented a table, indicating the correspondences and differences, on the chronology of the Egyptian kings as given by Syncellus, Theophilus, Eusebius, and Flavius Josephus, a table indicating the chronology

of the kings of Tyre as given by Theophilus, Syncellus, and Flavius Josephus, a table of Theophilus' reckoning of the years from the creation of the world to the death of Marcus Aurelius, and, lastly, an exceptionally useful table indicating correspondences between Theophilus and other Christian apologists and profane writers in the treatment of Chronus, Zeus, Aphrodite, etc. The book, furthermore, is equipped with an index of scriptural quotations, an analytical index, and an index of the names of scholars cited in the introduction and notes.

Professor Rapisarda has, on the whole, done his work well. The introduction and notes show a thorough acquaintance with ancient Christian and pagan literature and a good knowledge of the modern bibliography in Italian, French, German, and English. Here and there, however, he uses old works that have been replaced by better ones, and he naturally gives large space to Italian books and articles which are in part inaccessible to readers outside Italy. While the reviewer does not subscribe fully to his views on Theophilus' originality in his polemic, the new and independent treatment of this question is welcome. The Italian translation is accurate, and, so far as a foreigner can judge, smooth and forceful.

The section on the MSS. and on the text is the weakest in the book. By an oversight the editor has failed to give the date of his best MS. (p. cxiv), he does not discuss the relations of the MSS., and he does not indicate clearly the character of the Greek text which he intends to publish. It is to be regretted that he did not publish his new text in the present volume, as it would be far more convenient for scholars if they could have the Greek text before them when reading the editor's translation and notes.

Unfortunately, there are many misprints in the book. For example, p. xxvi, note 1: for *parris*, read *panis; ibid.*, for *Feir*, read *Feier;* p. lxxx, note 3: for *religions*, read *religious;* p. xcviii, line 14, for *Wedland*, read *Wendland; ibid.*, line 20: for *Meririer*, read *Méridier;* p. cxviii, line 18: for *Pommirich*, read *Pommrich*, etc. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

SCHNITZLER, THEODOR. *Im Kampfe um Chalcedon. Geschichte und Inhalt des Codex Encyclius von 458.* Dissertatio ad Lauream in Facultate Theologica Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae. [Analecta Gregoriana. Vol. XVI. Series Facultatis Theologicae. Sectio B (n. 7)]. (Romae: Apud Aedes Universitatis Gregorianae. 1938. Pp. 132.) When Timothy Aelurus had by violence and bloodshed seized the patriarchal throne of Alexandria on Holy Thursday, 457, he sent representatives to the Emperor Leo I asking that he be given official recognition and that a new council be called to pass judgment on the Council of Chalcedon. Leo, after some hesitation, decided to refer the whole matter, through their metropolitans, to all the bishops of the Eastern Empire. The two questions to be acted upon in the provincial synods were: should the Council of Chalcedon be upheld, and should Timothy be recognized as bishop of Alexandria? The provincial synods unanimously condemned Timothy's intrusion of the see of Alexandria, and, apart from the temporary objection of Amphilochius of Side, they also unanimously supported the Council of Chalcedon. The Emperor then caused all the replies of the bishops to be collected and to be published under the title *Encyclia* (= *Codex Encyclius*). This

Codex, accordingly, is a most precious collection of synodal letters, and one having a particular interest and value because it gives us an insight into the activities of a number of provincial ecclesiastical centers in the Eastern Empire at a critical period in the Church's history.

The purpose of the monograph under review, a doctoral dissertation suggested and directed by Professor C. Silva-Tarouca, S.J. of the Gregorian University, is to devote to the *Codex Encyclius* the thorough, systematic, and critical investigation it deserves. The dissertation is divided into two parts. In Part I, "The Historical Significance of the *Codex Encyclius*," the author deals with the following points: the antecedents of the *Codex Encyclius*, the opinion given by the bishops, the bishops and the councils in the fifth century, the *Codex Encyclius* in the controversies of later times, the history of the text. In Part II, "The Content of the *Codex Encyclius*," he treats his subject under these heads: on the Incarnation, on ecclesiastical authority — councils, patriarchs, the pope—, imperial theology, on the mystery of the Church.

The work has been admirably planned and has been well carried out. The *Codex Encyclius* has been evaluated on the basis of a thorough and accurate knowledge of the political and ecclesiastical history of the period, and the author has thus contributed a new and interesting chapter to our knowledge of the Church and the empire in the fifth century. Fortunately the modern critical text of the *Codex Encyclius* edited by E. Schwartz in 1936 appeared in time to be used by Father Schnitzler. This circumstance makes his study all the more valuable and definitive. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

SMITH, CHARLES EDWARD and PAUL GRADY MOORHEAD. *A Short History of the Ancient World*. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1939. Pp. xvii, 653. $3.75.) The authors of this new college textbook, professors of history and of classical languages respectively in Louisiana State University, have hardly been more successful than their predecessors in the attempt to present the history of the ancient world in one short volume of some six hundred pages, although their book is among the better surveys of its kind. Greek and Latin literature are treated with a surer hand than is usually the case in such texts, and Christianity is dealt with much more satisfactorily than in several other recent manuals that could be mentioned. On the other hand, prehistory receives but the briefest attention in the introduction, Egyptian history, especially on the cultural side, suffers from excessive brevity and the consequent telescoping of material, the Hittites receive too little attention, the Hurrites are not mentioned, etc. The text is well written and the marginal indications of the contents of paragraphs will be of distinct help to the student. A series of suggested collateral readings, eleven illustrations, seven maps, and an adequate index add to the usefulness of the book. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

TALIANI, FRANCESCO MARIA. *Vita del Cardinal Gasparri, Segretario di Stato e Povero Prete*. (Milano: A. Mondadori. 1938. Pp. 302. L. 20.) Apparently this book was written for the devout Italian laity who are anxious to learn more about the colorful figure of Pietro Cardinal Gasparri. It does not pretend to be a work of historical research, and scholars who are seeking

detailed and accurate information concerning this distinguished papal secretary of state will receive little enlightenment from its pages. Rather is it a typical example of the pietistic school of biography which, at least in the English language, is fortunately losing favor. The secretary of state for Benedict XV and Pius XI is dead now some five years, and it is yet too early to expect a definitive biography of such an extraordinary figure. There is space on our shelves for the book which will do justice to his remarkable character and influential career. In the meanwhile the life by Taliani offers little to satisfy our curosity, although it may excite our devotion. (HARRY C. KOENIG)

UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Historical Records and Studies.* Vol. XXX. (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society. 1939. Pp. 160. $3.00.) In this annual volume of the United States Catholic Historical Society some very interesting historical data are brought to light, in addition to information about the organization itself. The work is divided into four parts: a memorial tribute to two former officers, papers, annual meeting and notes and comments. Special tribute is paid to the late president, Percy J. King's "splendid labors", and to the "selfeffacing" executive committee member, Michael J. Madigan.

Dr. Leo F. Stock on, "The Irish Parliament and the American Revolution,", discusses the sources of information, attitude of parliament members, and recruiting and trade in relation to the American revolution. Joseph J. Early contributes an article on "The Lake George Saint Isaac Jogues Memorial", giving recognition to earlier efforts by the Missionary Society of St. Paul, the New York State Historical Society, the Feinberg-Reoux Law, the New York State Commission of 1937 and the memorial erected by the state of New York in 1939. An address delivered by Judge Frederick E. Crane on Isaac Jogues completes the history. A third paper on, "The First Sodality of the Blessed Virgin in New Orleans in 1730", by Roger Baudier, relates the origin and the history of the oldest known sodality in this country established in this southern city in 1730. The influence of Sister Cecile Cavelier of St. Joseph, the directress of the sodality, and of Sister Marie Madeleine Hachard of St. Stanislas, the assistant, point to the permanence of the sodality movement. Charles M. Lancaster writes in a serious vein on, "The First Fruits of Cuban Catholicism", from 1492 down to 1604, giving emphasis to the construction of religious edifices, alleviation of Indian slavery and the opposition to the materialism of certain Spanish leaders.

Sister M. Augustine Ray, B.V.M., contributes a scholarly article on, "The Protestant Tutor, a Forerunner of Benjamin Harris' New England Primer." The work of this English anti-Catholic was seen in the subject matter of his writings, including *The Popish Plot* and *The Pope as an Anti-Christ.* A detailed examination of the publication, including the reproduction of some forty-eight pages of the original text, reveals the background of the later *New England Primer.* A selected list of additional pioneer Catholic weeklies is provided by the Reverend Joseph R. Frese, S.J.

A report of the general meeting held on November 28, 1939, the election of Thomas F. Meehan as President of the Society, notes and comments on Catholic lay action, General William T. Sherman and the Presidency, New

England Nuns and Some Early Sodalists, an index for Vols. XXV, 1935 to XXIX, 1938, inclusive, an index of authors, and a list of officers and members of the Society complete the picture of this volume. (GEORGE F. DONOVAN)

VILLÉON, OMBLINE P. DE LA. *Jeanne Jugan et Les Petites Soeurs des Pauvres.* (Paris: La Bonne Presse. 1939. Pp. 193. 10 Fr.) There is probably no community of Sisters so universally known and so uniformly esteemed as that of the Little Sisters of the Poor. Rich and poor, Catholic and non-Catholic alike—all know something of their sublime work and love them because of it. We have heard and read much of St. Clare and the Franciscans, of St. Angela and the Ursulines, of Mother Seton and the American Sisters of Charity, of St. Jane Frances de Chantal and the Order of the Visitation, and of innumerable other noble foundresses of great communities of nuns. But how many of us know of Jeanne Jugan, the homely, unschooled peasant girl, born and raised in a little, insignificant hamlet in far-off Brittany and her struggles to provide shelter and raiment for God's poor? And yet, in 1938 more than ten thousand persons took part in the centennial celebration which commemorated the foundation of the Little Sisters of the Poor, and which perforce centered its activities in a holy triduum about the memories and saintly relics of this same peasant woman, Jeanne Jugan.

We are, therefore, deeply indebted to Monsieur de la Villéon for his timely little volume, in which he gives us memorable pen-pictures of a great soul in her maiden years of peasant life, in her amazing work of organizing and extending the homes for the poor and the aged, and in her dramatic years of self-effacement and cruel suffering imposed unwittingly, we trust, by her own superiors.

This is not a story of miracles, of ecstatic visions, or of other mystic phenomena. Whether Jeanne Jugan enjoyed any of these extraordinary graces, the author does not say. But he does tell us of a miracle of constant and complete giving of self to God through His afflicted poor, which is as rare in this world as are first-class miracles themselves, and which will probably leave a deeper and more lasting impress on the heart and mind of the average man than all the accounts of mystical experiences recorded of some of the saints. That some one worthy of the task will be moved to put this touching account of saintly Jeanne Jugan into English is the reviewer's fervent wish. (LOUIS A. ARAND)

WALKER, REGINALD F., C.S.Sp., M.A., H.Dip.Ed. *An Outline History of the Catholic Church.* Two Volumes. (Dublin; M. H. Gill and Son, Ltd. 1938-1939. Pp. xii, 282; viii, 272. 3/ per Volume.) The title of Father Walker's work is accurate, since it represents what is more commonly termed in this country a "syllabus" of the history of the Church. These little volumes represent the compilation of class notes made by the author in teaching the subject at Rockwell College, Cashel, County Tipperary. The first volume covers the story from Pentecost to the end of the Western Schism in 1417; the second is devoted to a summary of the Church's activities from the fifteenth century through the pontificate of Pius XI. Two kinds of type are used: the larger for those students who will get only the bare outline of

Church history, the smaller for students in senior courses who may have an opportunity for more detailed instruction. Especially noteworthy is the accompanying commentary on the doctrinal developments such as heresies, schisms, the progress of mysticism and the spiritual growth within the Church. The text is provided with numerous footnote references to authoritative statements of the Church's teaching and to suggestions for further reading. Moreover each volume has a reading list of secondary works in Latin, French, and English upon which the narrative is principally based. Each volume likewise has an adequate index.

The reading lists are, to the mind of the reviewer, one of the weakest features of Father Walker's work. One looks in vain for the recent *Histoire de l'Église*, edited by Fliche and Martin; certainly Jorgensen's *St. Catherine of Siena* is superior to Curtayne, as Professor Chambers' *Thomas More* notably outranks the sketchy account of St. Thomas written by Sargent. It is likewise rather strange to find Webster's *French Revolution* being put forward at this late date when the much better volumes of Brinton, Hazen, and others are available. Finally the impression created that Pius VI signed the Treaty of Tolentino in 1797 (not 1796) in any way willingly, is quite wrong in the light of the protests of that treaty made on a number of occasions by the Holy See (II, 142, n. 29). The sketchy treatment of the history of the Church in this country (II, 187-192) hardly does justice to the story, nor would American Catholics generally agree that the Church was established in our land "largely through the instrumentality of Irish exiles" (II, 187). That the Irish made their contribution, and a very noteworthy one at that, there is no doubt, but Father Walker assumes a bit too much credit for his fellow-countrymen in that enterprise. The first episcopal see was erected in the United States in 1789, not 1879, an obvious printer's error (II, 189). Despite these criticisms Father Walker's little volumes will prove of real aid to the teacher and student in furnishing just what they pretend to give, namely an outline history of the Church. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

The Papal Peace Program. The Most Reverend Robert E. Lucey (*Commonweal*, Sept. 6).
Sovereignty. Philip Prime, S.J. (*Clergy Review*, July).
Trends in Modern Politics. Waldemar Gurian (*Review of Politics*, July).
The Growth of the Race Idea. Eric Voegelin (*ibid.*).
Democracy and Total War. Christopher Dawson (*Dublin Review*, July).
Modern Study of the Middle Ages. H. D. Austin (*Research News*, The University of Southern California, July).
Primitive Hebrew Religion [Continued]. John E. Steinmueller (*Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, Aug.).
The Attitude of the Ancient World toward Judaism. Isaak Heinemann (*Review of Religion*, May).
Le christianisme dans la péninsule sinaïtique des origines à l'arrivée des musulmans. R. Devreesse (*Revue biblique*, April).
The Quartodecimans and the Synoptic Chronology. Cyril C. Richardson (*Harvard Theological Review*, July).
Bible Text or Liturgy. Marbury B. Ogle (*ibid.*).
Ambrosius, der Verfasser von *De Sacramentis*: Die inneren Echtheitsgründe. Otto Faller, S.J. (*Zeitschrift für kath. Theologie*, 64 [1940], I).
Seneca im Gegensatz zu Paulus [A report on Th. Schreiner's work of the same name]. Heinrich Doergens (*ibid.*).
Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte des Wortes Missa. Josef Andr. Jungmann, S.J. (*ibid.*).
En lisant la Philolocalie d'Origène: à propos du canon des livres saints. J. B. Colon (*Revue des sciences religieuses*, Jan.).
L'Occident et les documents de la controverse arienne. G. Bardy (*ibid.*).
L'Onction des infirmes dans l'Eglise latine du III^e^ siècle à la réforme carolingienne: Les textes. A Chevasse (*ibid.*).
The Laity and Papal Elections. Stephen McKenna, C.SS.R. (*Light*, Sept.).
Roman Vignettes, XXXI: Catacombs. John Murray (*Month*, June).
The Rule of St. Benedict. Justin McCann, O.S.B. (*Tablet*, June 1).
"Le Recit d'une Soeur." Algernon Cecil (*ibid.*, June 15).
The Writings of St. Francis de Sales. V. J. Matthews, Cong. Orat. (*ibid.*, June 22).
Les idées morales du XII^e^ siècle. Les savants (VII): Savants germaniques, Honoré d'Autun, sainte Hildegarde. B. Landry (*Revue des cours et conférences*, April 15).
The Thomistic Concept of Devotion. John W. Curran, O.P. (*Thomist*, July).
An Early Life of Saint Raymund Pennafort. Urban Fay, O.P. (*Dominicana*, June).
Cornelius a Lapide, 1567-1637. Edward Ring, C.SS.R. (*Month*, July).
Hunting for Cathay: An Episode of Mission History. James Brodrick (*Month*, June).
Reliquie e reliquiari. A. Ferrua, S.J. (*Civiltà cattolica*, June 1).
A Case Study in Philosophic Research and Spinoza. Harry A. Wolfson (*New Scholasticism*, July).
Palaeography and Spiritual Tradition. Ludwig Bieler (*Studies*, June).
The Art of Writing at Tours from 1000 to 1200 A.D. Leslie Webber Jones. *Speculum*, July).

On Writing and Printing Gothic. Sydney Fairbanks and F. P. Magoun, Jr. (*ibid.*).
A Fourteenth-Century Jewry Oath of South Germany. Guido Kisch (*ibid.*).

EUROPEAN

Un aspect de l'humanisme salésien: II. Vertus morales naturelles et charité. H. Mogenet (*Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, April).
Maria Perpétua da Luz. M. Martins (*ibid.*).
Benoit XIV a-t-il lu et loué un livre du P. Jean Pichon publié en 1745? P. Dudon (*ibid.*).
Catholic France before the Revolution. Benjamin Blied (*Salesianum*, July).
Le Quatorze Juillet: 1789-1940. The Church and the Principles of the French Revolution. Anon. (*Tablet*, July 20).
The Early French Reformation. W. G. Moore (*History*, June).
Les protestants français au XVIII[e] siècle. Emile G. Léonard (*Annales d'histoire sociale*, Jan.).
A Pioneer of Catholic Journalism: Père Vincent de Paul Bailly. Charlotte M. Kelly (*Studies*, June).
French Catholics and the Foreign Policy of France. Paul Vignaux (*Dublin Review*, July).
Las corrientes de espiritualidad entre los Dominicos de Castilla durante la primera mitad del siglo XVI: IV. Vitoria y Erasmo. Vicente Beltran de Heredia, O.P. (*Ciencia Tomista*, 59, 2).
Preparando y justificando una guerra memorable, Paulo IV y Felipe II, 1556 y 1557 [Conclusion]. Federico R. Pomar (*Razón y fe*, June).
Spain A Century Ago. Owen B. McGuire (*Commonweal*, July 5).
Juan Luis Vives [d. May 6, 1540]. Karl Winter (*ibid.*, July 26).
Madrid-Séville, Paques 1940. Pierre Jobit (*Etudes*, June 5).
The Portuguese Centenaries. Anon. (*Tablet*, June 1).
Salazar the Man. Mrs. George Norman (*Month*, June).
Some Travel Notes during the Thirty Years War. Mrs. D. Gardiner (*History*, June).
Die sozialpolitischen Richtungen unter den deutschen seit 1870 [Schluss]. (*Social Justice Review*, July-Aug.).
The Regeneration of Germany. Hermann Rauschning (*Dublin Review*, July).
Racial Theories in Germany from Herder to Hitler. Charles Callan Tansill (*Thought*, Sept.).
The Jesuits in White Russia under Stanislaus Siestrzencewicz. John Arthur Kemp (*ibid.*).
L'Occupation allemande en Pologne. Jules Lebreton (*Etudes*, June 5).
Poland in Chains. Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (*Columbia*, July).

BRITISH EMPIRE

The Lincoln Magna Carta. William Gilligan (*Commonweal*, Aug. 30).
Le Cantique d'Amour de Richard Rolle. A. Wilmart (*Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, April).
The Earlier Days of St. Stephen Harding. Watkin Williams (*Journal of Theological Studies*, April).
Medieval Contacts between England and Hungary. Alexander Fest (*Hungarian Quarterly*, Summer, 1940).
Battle Devotions in Medieval England. W. T. Mitchell (*Month*, July).
Did Russia Intervene after the Execution of Charles I? A Seventeenth-Century Propaganda Pamphlet. Leo Loewenson (*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XVIII, 52).
Nicholas Wiseman. Philip Hughes (*Tablet*, June 8).
Cardinal Newman: An Appraisal of His Influence, on the Fiftieth Anniversary of His Death. Anon (*ibid.*, Aug. 10).
Some Omissions in the Douay-Rheims Verson. Hugh Pope, O.P. (*Clergy Review*, Aug.).

The New Westminster Hymnal. Felix Hardy, O.S.B. (*Tablet*, July 20).
Catholic Hymns in English [An appreciation of the revised Westminster Hymnal and some remarks on translation]. Walter Shewring (*Clergy Review*, July).
A Survey of Studies in Cornish Hagiography and Church History. Louis H. Gray (*Review of Religion*, May).
The Irish Language in the Penal Era. Edward Cahill, S.J. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, June).
The Book of Fenagh. Paul Walsh (*ibid.*).
Richard Kirwan. Part IV: Dawn of the Nineteenth Century in Dublin. P. J. McLaughlin (*Studies*, June).
Benjamin Woodward, Ruskin and the O'Sheas. C. P. Curran (*ibid.*).

AMERICAN

On the Future of American Civilization. John U. Nef (*Review of Politics*, July).
The Effects of the American Revolution on Indentured Servitude. William Miller (*Pennsylvania History*, July).
Italo-Americans in Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century. Howard R. Marraro (*ibid.*).
Old Saint Peter's Barclay Street, New York. A Longfellow Fiske (*The Epistle*, Summer, 1940).
The Founding of The Saint Paul Guild: 1901. Albert A. Murray, C.S.P. (*ibid.*).
Appalachian Apostle [Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin]. Frank Rahill (*Commonweal*, June 28).
De Smet: Apostle of the Northwest. John J. O'Connor (*Ave Maria*, July 13).
Before Stanley and Livingstone [Bishop Edward Barron in Liberia]. Joseph B. Murphy, C.S.Sp. (*Medical Missionary*, Sept.).
Father Richard and His Printing Press. Julia Cooley Altrocchi (*Thought*, Sept.).
Catholic University's Founder [Archbishop John Lancaster Spalding, born June, 1840]. Charles A. Hart (*Commonweal*, July 5).
At the Catholic University of America, 1898-1902 [autobiographical]. John A. Ryan (*Commonweal*, Aug. 9). Cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, July, p. 267.
The Archdiocese of Detroit [a brief historical summary]. Harry Paul (*Catholic Action*, Aug.).
Indianapolis [A brief historical summary]. Humbert P. Pagani (*Columbia*, July).
The Bay Psalm Book and Harvard Hymnody. Henry Wilder Foote (*Harvard Theological Review*, July).
Peter Irving's Journals. Edited with an introduction by Leonard B. Beach (*Bulletin of The New York Public Library*, Aug.).
Margaret Fuller's Schooldays in Cambridge. Madeleine B. Stern (*New England Quarterly*, June).
The Spiritual Force in Early Western Culture. James M. Miller (*Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, July).
A Hobby in Church Music [A note on hymnology]. George F. Strickling (*Museum Echoes*, June).
The Background of the Central Verein's History (*Social Justice Review*, July-Aug.).
Catholic Charity in the Army, 1861-65. Benjamin Blied (*ibid.*, Sept.).
Missions of Keweenaw County [Northern Michigan]. Juniper Hukenbeck, O.F.M. (*Provincial Chronicle*, Cincinnati, Spring, 1940).
Father Francis Louis Huber, the First Franciscan in Cincinnati [Continued]. John B. Wuest, O.F.M. (*ibid.*).
Franciscan Missions among the Navajo Indians [Continued]. Emmanuel Trockur, O.F.M. (*ibid.*).
Thomas James Walsh, A Wisconsin Gift to Montana. Joseph Schafer (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, June).

Spain's Farewell to Louisiana, 1803-1821. Philip C. Brooks (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, June).

Relics of Majesty: The Saline Missions of New Mexico. Courtenay Savage (*Columbia*, Aug.).

A Valiant Woman: The Story of Blessed Philippine Duchesne. Arthur G. Behrman (*ibid.*).

Blessed Rose Philippine Duchesne. Mother Mary Xavier, S.H.C.J. (*Studies*, June).

Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659-1670 [Continued]. France V. Scholes (*New Mexico Historical Review*, July).

California's First Bishop. Edward T. Haskins (*Catholic Digest*, Aug., Condensed from the *Central California Register*).

Our Lady of Guadalupe at Conejos, Colorado. Claire McMenamy (*Colorado Magazine*, Sept.).

Les premières écoles anglaises à Montréal. E. Z. Massicotte (*Bulletin des recherches historiques*, June).

La première fête de sainte Anne (1535). D'après le R. P. Bélanger, *La bonne sainte Anne au Canada et à Beaupré* (*ibid.*).

The Hotel Dieu of Quebec: 1639-1939. William A. L. Styles (*Magnificat*, Aug.).

El Excmo. Sr. Ignacio Montes de Oca y Obregón: Primer centenario de su nacimiento. José Castillo y Piña (*Christus*, Aug.).

Los martires de la Tarahumara [Continued]. Silvestre Terrazas (*Boletin de la Sociedad Chihuahuense de Estudios Historicos*, May-June).

Las elecciones de alcaldes en 1740. L. A. Scheteleg (*ibid.*).

Los Melgares. Francisco R. Almada (*ibid.*).

A propósito de un centenario: A Xavier Ortiz Monasterio y Garay [Jesuit centenary]. L. A. Scheteleg (*ibid.*, July).

Mexico on the Verge of a Crisis. Wilfrid Parsons, S.J. (*Studies*, June).

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Agar, William M., *Catholicism and the Progress of Science* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1940. Pp. xi, 109. $1.00).

Baldwin, Marshall W., *The Medieval Papacy in Action* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1940. Pp. xiii, 111. $1.00).

Bonn, John Louis, S.J., *So Falls the Elm Tree* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1940. Pp. xiii, 287. $2.50). Father Bonn here presents in story form a biography of the foundress of St. Francis Hospital in Hartford.

Bossenbrook, William J., *Development of Contemporary Civilization* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co. 1940. Pp. xxiii, 805. $3.75).

Boyd, Catherine E., *The French Renaissance.* Illustrations Set No. 3. Museum Extension Publications. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts. 1940. 42 Plates. Text pp. 52. $5.00).

Burckhardt, Carl J., *Richelieu: His Rise to Power* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1940. Pp. 413. $3.75).

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